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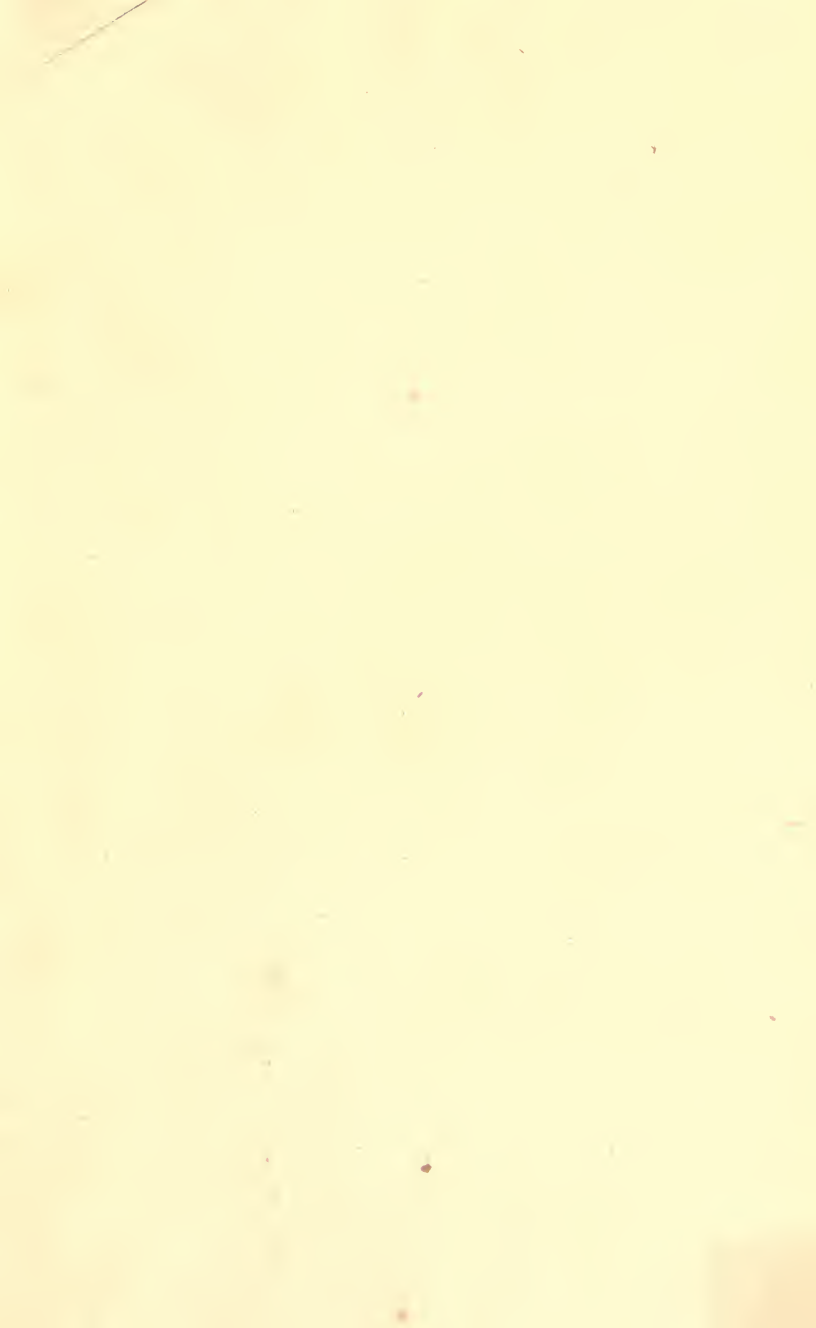


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IRELAND AND HER CHURCH.

“ Doctor Leland begins his History of Ireland too late.” (the 12th century) “ The ages which deserve our exact enquiry, are those times (for such they were) when Ireland was the school of the West, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature ; if you could give a history, though imperfect, of the Irish nation, from its conversion to Christianity, to the invasion from England, you would amplify knowledge with new views, and new objects.”
—*Dr. Johnson's letter to Charles O'Connor.*

“ The great source of Irish misery has been,—not the POWER of England,—but its WANT of power.”—*Dr. Phelan.*

IRELAND AND HER CHURCH :

IN THREE PARTS.

BY

THE VERY REV. RICHARD MURRAY, D.D.

DEAN OF ARDAGH.

AUTHOR OF "THE INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE APOCALYPSE :"
"LESSONS ON THE CHURCH CATECHISM," &c. &c.

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THE SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED.

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LEONARD SEELEY, THAMES DITTON, SURREY.

TO THE
UNCOMPROMISING SUPPORTER OF THE BEST
INTERESTS OF HIS COUNTRY,
THE TRIED FRIEND OF PROTESTANTISM AND OF TRUTH,

THE EARL OF RODEN :

THIS SECOND EDITION OF THE HISTORY OF
“ IRELAND AND HER CHURCH,”

IS RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S OBEDIENT FRIEND AND SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE favourable reception which the former edition of this work received from the public, has encouraged the author to publish a new and enlarged edition ; and for the purpose of removing, in some degree, the obscurity in which the subject is involved, and to prepare the way for the fuller developement of the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, a short analysis of her secular history, as far as it is connected with the church, is prefixed, as a leading article to each division of the work ; which has made a change in the title of the book necessary, from ‘ Outlines of the History of the Church in Ireland,’ to that of ‘ Ireland and her Church.’

The history of Ireland, from the introduction of Christianity to the present time, naturally divides itself into three parts. First, from the second to the twelfth century. Secondly, from the Norman invasion in that century, to the Reformation in the sixteenth ; and thirdly, from the Reformation to the present day.

In the first period of her history, Ireland was independent, both in

church and state, of any foreign potentate whatsoever, and possessed a considerable share of those benefits which result from industry, laws, and literature ; with perhaps as much tranquillity, public and private, as was enjoyed by Greece, at its most brilliant period. During the sixth, seventh, eighth, and part of the ninth century, she was (in the language of Dr. Johnson) ‘the school of the west, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature.’ Her mitred missionaries were the honoured instruments in the hands of God, of evangelizing the greater part of Saxon-England and Scotland ; and not content with this, she extended ‘the cords of her tent’ over almost every part of the continent of Europe. Let the reader stand in imagination on the top of mount St. Gothard, where her house of refuge still remains, and looking to the north and to the south, to the east and to the west, he will be able to trace, with the map of Europe in his hand, the footsteps of the Irish missionaries, through France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, imparting to the inhabitants of these extensive regions, the blessings of pure christianity and moral civilization.

Her seminaries and her churches at home, during the same period, were the asylums of learned men from all parts of the continent of Europe. King’s sons were among her honourable pupils. In Great Britain, the colleges and churches of Iona, Malmesbury, Lindisfarne, with many others ; and on the continent of Europe, Lieuxeu, and Fontains in France ; Sekingen, Limmat, Zurich, Tuggen, Arbon, Dis-sentes, St. Gall, Würzburg, and Salzburg, in Germany and Switzerland ; and Pavia, Tarentum, and Bobbio in Italy ; all proclaim the same truth, that Ireland was the focus, from which the light of divine truth was shed over the greater part of the continent of Europe.

‘We find also, (says Mosheim) Irish divines, discharging with the highest reputation and applause, the functions of Doctors in France, Germany, and Italy, both during this, (the eighth), and the following century.’ ‘It was not a doubtful ray of science and superstition, (as the infidel historian of the Roman empire remarks,) that those mis-

sionaries diffused over the northern regions ; superstition, on the contrary, found them her most determined foes.'

In the ravages of the Danes, which commenced in the ninth century, we lose all distinct notices of things, in one sanguinary chaos of rapine and revenge. When men began to recover from this sad visitation, it was felt, that religion had suffered grievously. The horrors of intestine warfare, favourable, in single instances, to an austere and unsocial piety, are fatal to the milder virtues ; *and three centuries of invasion will suffice for the corruption of the finest people.* This may, in some measure, account for the state in which Ireland was found, when the Anglo-Normans invaded our shores.

The second period of Irish history commences from the invasion and partial conquest of Ireland, in the latter part of the twelfth, to the Reformation in the sixteenth century. "The tale of woe," as a Roman Catholic historian feelingly expresses it, 'which followed the invasion of the Normans, when Pope Adrian handed over the Emerald Isle to the tender mercies of adventurers, baffles all description. The statute of Kilkenny alone, is indeed a solecism in the legislation of civilized nations, and has left a stigma on the character of popish England which never can be obliterated : not content with excluding 'the mere Irish, or Irish Rebels,' (the name given to the members of the Irish Church, who were considered by the popish aristocracy of that day, as heretics of the very worst character) from all the common rights of humanity,—the very brutes that perish were not exempted from the tender mercies of the Norman Romanists : 'An Irish horse was not permitted to graze on the pasture of an Englishman.'

During this dark and gloomy period of three centuries and an half, the Irish Church still exhibited symptoms of life and animation, and we are informed by the decisive testimony of Dr. Lanigan, himself a Romanist, and others, 'that wherever the natives maintained their independence,' which they did in the greater part of Ireland, during this

period, 'the clergy and people followed their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the synod of Cashel had never been held.'

At the Reformation, commences the third period of Irish History. The novelties of the Romish Church were discarded, and the primitive Irish Church became again the Established Church of this realm; and 'all sorts and conditions of men,' joyfully gave in their adhesion to it. It is a well recognized fact, that in the reigns of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, the entire mass of the population, lay and ecclesiastical, outwardly conformed to the ritual of the Established Church, and that Ireland for the first time in her annals, was then at peace under one acknowledged sovereign.

The melancholy change that took place in the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland can only be accounted for, by the powers of Europe, headed by the Pope, uniting to destroy by brutal force, the Church of Ireland, just emerging from its degradation; and by a continuation of that wretched policy, which had marked the government of England in former days. The language and dress of the people were again prohibited by new statutes; the service of the church was again performed in an unknown language, which at once threw back the professors of the ancient religion of the country into the hands of the Anglo-Irish, who had now received a new importation of bishops from Rome, and were become greater and more determined enemies to England, than the native Irish themselves.

The taunting proverb, that the admitted failure of the Church, in converting the natives from the errors of Romanism, has been mainly attributed to the wealth and consequent indolence and neglect of its pastors, will, I hope, receive an answer, from the statement of facts in the following pages; and it will be seen that so far from this being the case, till within the last fifty years, the Church's destitution palsied its efforts, for any useful or benevolent purpose.

But the most extraordinary feature in the history of the Church in Ireland, is, that like her Waldensian sister of the wilderness, she has

always been a *Protestant Church*. In the primitive age a witness against the usurped authority of Rome, and in the two latter periods protesting against the doctrines and practices of her corrupt system of religion.

The forcible introduction of Romanism into Ireland, in the latter part of the twelfth century, became the fruitful source of a series of calamities, hardly to be equalled in the history of the world ; a second attempt of the same kind, and for the same purpose, is now making, by the present ministers of the crown, which if persisted in, will end in the dismemberment of the empire, and in the decline and fall of the British Nation.

May 1, 1845.

The writers of the present day, whose works on Ireland, have been referred to in this publication, are as follows :—

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THE REVOLUTION—JAMES LANDS IN IRELAND—CALLS A PARLIAMENT TO MEET IN DUBLIN—THE ACTS OF SETTLEMENT REPEALED—JAMES HIMSELF PRECLUDED FROM PARDONING—WILLIAM DETERMINES TO SUPPORT HIS FRIENDS IN IRELAND—DUKE SCHOMBERG WITH HIS ARMY ARRIVES IN IRELAND—JAMES'S ONLY SHIP OF WAR CAPTURED—THE FORT OF CHARLEMONT TAKEN—KING WILLIAM LANDS AT CARRICKFERGUS—HIS FIRST ACT IN IRELAND—JAMES MARCHES TO MEET HIM—WILLIAM'S ARMY MOVES TOWARDS THE BOYNE—WILLIAM SLIGHTLY WOUNDED, SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN KILLED—PARIS ILLUMINATED IN CONSEQUENCE OF IT—THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE—JAMES, CONSIDERING THE CONTEST AS DECIDED, FLIES TO WATERFORD AND EMBARKS FOR FRANCE—JAMES'S ADHERENTS CARRY ON THE WAR—WILLIAM ARRIVES IN DUBLIN—WATERFORD CAPITULATES—THE UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON ATHLONE AND LIMERICK—WILLIAM EMBARKS FOR ENGLAND—THE SIEGE OF ATHLONE—THE TOWN TAKEN—THE BATTLE OF AUGHRIM—GALWAY SURRENDERED—THE SIEGE OF LIMERICK—CAPITULATION OF LIMERICK—THE ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION—THE WAR CONCLUDED. *pages 317—341*

CHAPTER XX.

NEW TROUBLES ASSAIL THE CHURCH—ARCHBISHOP KING'S LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY—PRIMATE BOULTER'S LETTERS—THE TYTHE OF AGISTMENT—THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1735—THE EVILS RESULTING FROM THESE RESOLUTIONS—PLURALITIES AND UNIONS—THE SCENES ACTED IN 1735, NEARLY SIMILAR TO THOSE IN 1836—AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE SECULARITIES OF THE CHURCH—THE GREAT REVIVAL IN THE CHURCH—THE CHURCH TEMPORALITIES' BILL *pages 342—361.*

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IRELAND AND HER CHURCH.

PART I.

FROM THE SECOND TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

THE SECULAR HISTORY OF IRELAND—IRELAND DIVIDED INTO FIVE KINGDOMS—THE KINGDOMS WERE SUBJECT TO THE LAW OF TANISTRY—THE LAND-OWNERS' TENURE THAT OF IRISH GAVELKIND—THE BREHON LAW—COSHERY—BONAGH—THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO IRELAND—ST. CATHALDUS—CORMAC—HEBER—ST. ALBE—THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION—SEDULIUS—CELESTIUS—ENMITY OF THE ANCIENT IRISH TO EVERY THING CONNECTED WITH ROME—THE PROTESTANT CHARACTER OF THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH.

IRELAND at the period of the introduction of Christianity, and till the Norman invasion in the twelfth century, was divided into five kingdoms, Leinster, Munster, Connaught, Ulster, and Meath. One of these sovereigns was chosen king of Ireland, in some general assembly, probably of the nobility, or smaller chieftains, and of the prelates.

This monarch of the island received tributes from the inferior kings, and a certain supremacy especially in the defence of the country against invasion; but the constitu-

CENTURY
2—12.

Secular His-
tory of Ire-
land.

CENTURY
2—12.

Sir J. Ware's
Antiquities
of Ireland.
Leland's His-
tory.
Subject to
the law of
Tanistry.

tion was of a general nature, and each was independent in ruling his people, or in making war on his neighbours. Below the kings were the chieftains of different septs, or families, perhaps in one or two degrees of subordination, bearing a relation, which may be called feudal to each other, and to the crown.

These chieftainships, and perhaps, even the kingdoms themselves, though not divisible, followed a very different rule of succession than that of primogeniture. They were subject to the law of *tanistry*, of which the principle is defined to be, that the demesne lands, and dignity of chieftainship, descended to the eldest, and most worthy of the same blood; these epithets not being used, we may suppose, synonymously, but in order to indicate, that the preference given to seniority was to be controlled by a due regard to desert.

No better mode, it is evident, of providing for a perpetual supply of those vivid quarrels, in which the Irish are supposed to place so much of their enjoyment, could have been devised. Yet as these became in the course of time a little too frequent, it was not unusual to elect a *Tanist*, or reversionary successor, in the time of the reigning chief, as has been the practice of more civilized nations. An infant was never allowed to hold the sceptre of an Irish Kingdom; it necessarily devolved to his uncle, or other kinsman of mature age; as was the case also, (says Hallam) in England, even after the consolidation of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy.*

Land-own-
ers' tenure—
gavelkind.

The land-owners, who did not belong to the noble class, bore the same name, as their chieftain, and were presumed to be of the same lineage. But they held their estates by

* Davis' Reports, p. 29, and his discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, &c. &c.

a very different, and an extraordinary tenure, that of *Irish gavelkind*. CENTURY
2—12

On the decease of a proprietor, instead of an equal partition among his children, as in the gavelkind of English law, the chief of the Sept, according to the generally received explanation, made, or was entitled to make, a fresh division of all the land within his district, allotting to the heirs of the deceased, a portion of the integral territory, along with the other members of the tribe.

It seems impossible to conceive, that these partitions, a fruitful source of quarrelling, were renewed on each death that occurred in the Sept; but they are asserted to have at least, taken place so frequently as to produce a continual change of possession. The policy of this custom doubtless sprung from too jealous a solicitude, as to the excessive inequality of wealth, and from the habit of looking on the tribe, as one family of occupants, not wholly divested of its original right, by the necessary allotment of lands to particular cultivators. It bore some degree of analogy to the institution of the year of Jubilee in the Mosaic code, and what may be thought more immediate, was almost exactly similar to the rule of succession, which is laid down in the ancient rules of Wales.*

Ware, Le-
land, Davis's
Discovery.
Hallam, &c.

* 'At the date of the arrival of the first English adventurers, every chieftain, from the dynasty of a province to the tiny potentate of a realm, which might be enclosed within a modern barony, was a king. The annual claim of his superior lord was settled according to circumstances, by a tribute or a battle; but within his own territory, he exercised all the powers of barbarous royalty. By a custom which seems to have once extended from the Himalaya mountains to the Atlantic, he was sole proprietor of all the land of his Sept; the clansmen held their portions during the pleasure of their chief, and there were some national usages which added to the uncertainty of this precarious tenure. All dignities were elective; vacancies

CENTURY
2—12.

The Brehon
Law.

In the territories of each Sept, Judges called *Brehons*, and taken-out of certain families, sat with primeval simplicity upon turfen benches, in some conspicuous situation, to determine controversies. Their usages are almost wholly unknown ; for what has been published as fragments of the Brehon law, seem open to great suspicion, at least of being interpolated. It is however notorious, that the Irish admitted the composition, or fine for murder, to be levied according to the rank of the individual, instead of capital punishment, and this was divided between the kindred of the slain, and the judge.

were made, and elections carried most frequently by the sword ; so that every change of masters, in every tribe, threatened, if it did not cause, a new partition of lands. No special claims to inheritance were derived from primogeniture, legitimacy, or kindred. Upon the death or emigration of a vassal, his holding reverted to the common stock : on the other hand, as youths grew to maturity, or strangers became naturalized, the older occupants contracted their bounds to make room for the new settlers. These eternal fluctuations had their full effect upon the face of the country and the character of the people ; there was no motive to industry, no spirit, except for turbulent adventure ; cultivation was limited to the demands of nature, and the landlord, and the fertility of the soil abused by a wretched system of husbandry.’—Phelan’s Introduction, page iv.

It was one of the Articles of *Impeachment* brought in 1613, against the Lord deputy Chichester by the Catholic Association of the day, that his officers levied a fine on the Irish, *for ploughing with horses by the tail*. (See *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, Vol. I.)

In 1648, it was one of the Articles of Peace between the Duke of Ormond and another Catholic Association ‘that two acts lately passed in this kingdom, the one prohibiting the ploughing with horses by the tail, and the other prohibiting the burning of oats in the straw be repealed.’ Such was Irish patriotism in the seventeenth century ; making a grievance of every measure that was calculated to promote comfort and civilization, or raise the character of the people ; such it is in the nineteenth.

The government of Ireland must have been almost entirely aristocratical, and not very unlike that of the feudal confederacies in France, during the ninth and tenth centuries. The chief claimed a right of taking from his tenants provisions for his own use at discretion, or of sojourning in their houses. This was called *Coshery*, and is somewhat analogous to the royal prerogative of purveyances. A still more terrible oppression was the quartering of the lord's soldiers on the people, sometimes mitigated by a composition, called by the Irish *Bonagh*;—for the perpetual warfare of these petty chieftains, had given rise to the employment of mercenary troops, partly natives, partly from Scotland, known by the uncouth names of *Kerns*, and *Gallow-glasses*, who proved the scourge of Ireland down to the time of Elizabeth.

CENTURY
2—12.

Coshery

Bonagh.

Hallam's
Const. Hist.
of England.

The worst features in the character of the people, appears to have been formed in a great measure, from the nature of these laws, the effects of which are still to be recognized: with the general character of a half-civilized community, they were distinguished by a peculiar vivacity of imagination, an enthusiasm, and impetuosity of passion, and a more than ordinary bias towards a submissive, and superstitious spirit of religion. This spirit may justly be traced in a great measure to the virtues and piety of the early preachers of the Gospel in that country, and must have had a beneficial influence on the minds of the people, so as in some degree to have neutralized the baneful effects of the government under which they lived.

The exact period, when Christianity was originally introduced into Ireland, cannot now be ascertained, nor are we to be surprised at this, as a similar uncertainty envelopes the first establishment of Christian Churches in

Introduction
of Christian-
ity

CENTURY
2—12.

Britain, Gaul, Spain and even Rome* itself, an empire, which seems to have been raised up by God, for the purpose of contributing to the more easy diffusion of the light of divine truth. It is however very generally supposed that Ireland had been visited by the disciples of Christ, within one hundred years after the crucifixion.

St. Cathaldus.

O'Halloran,
ii. p. 8.

Cormac.

Lib. i. c. 2.

Lib. c. 7.

Heber.

Usher Prim.
p. 801.

St. Albe.

In the second century, in the reign of Con, Ireland sent forth the famous St. Cathaldus to preach the doctrines of Christianity, who became afterwards the Bishop and Patron of Tarentum in Italy. In the next age Cormac, an Irish Prince, and a celebrated Legislator, was converted to Christianity, and died in the faith. St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, A. D. 100, mentions the existence of Churches among the Celtic nations; but the earliest writer, who affords the most direct proof of the probable existence of one in Ireland, is Tertullian, one of the Latin fathers, who wrote about the year 200; he asserts, in his book '*Adversus Judæas*,' 'that those parts of the British *Isles*, which were unapproached by the Romans, were yet subject to Christ.' The allusion to Ireland is here manifest, from the use of the plural noun. In the fourth century, several churches had been founded, and colleges opened in Ireland, particularly that of Heber, or Iber, at Beglire in Leinster, 'where Heber instructed great numbers of Irish, as well as foreigners, in sacred and polite letters.'

St. Albe also, an Irish Prelate, after having preached

* The passage of Irenæus, (Lib. ii. c. 3) as is well known, is the first distinct assertion of any primacy in Peter, and derived from him to the See of Rome. This passage would be better authority, if it existed in the original language, not in a barbarous Latin version, and still more if it did not assert what is manifestly untrue,—the foundation of the Church of Rome by St. Peter and St. Paul.

throughout Ireland, founded his Church and School at Emely or Emly. Irish ecclesiastics were spoken of as having visited other parts of Europe, before the fourth century, particularly St. Dermot and St. Liberias, who were succeeded by Albe, Kiaran, Declan, and Ibarus, in the work of disseminating the Gospel. Again, Ireland afforded the terrified British Clergy, a secure asylum from the Dioclesian persecution in 303.*

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2—12.

And as a proof that education had made considerable progress in Ireland, we are distinctly informed by St. Jerome and others, that the celebrated Celestius, so well known afterwards, as the bold follower of Pelagius, the arch-heretic, was by birth an Irishman; and three letters to his parents are still extant, which demonstrate that he had received an early Christian education in that country. These epistles not only imply that his parents were Christians, but that there must have existed an extensive community of them in a country, where such a writer could have been instructed, and such letters at all understood. They were written (says Moore, in his history of Ireland)

Progress of
Education.

Celestius.

* Daniel Rock, D.D. in his letter to Lord John Manners (p. 21) positively asserts that these Bishops were all ordained at Rome and by the Pope. Nothing however can be alleged with certainty, but that they were in Ireland before the time of St. Patrick. Of course, legends of their lives were composed, some of which have been transmitted to our times. (Vide Usher's Works, Vol. vi. pp. 333—336.) But the chronological inaccuracies with which they abound, the improbable stories they contain, their exaggerations and their untruths are so numerous and so manifest, that Dr. Lanigan, (a wiser man than Dr. Rock) and a highly respectable Roman Catholic ecclesiastical historian, has exhibited a great deal of ingenuity in his efforts to throw discredit upon the fact that these Bishops were in Ireland before St. Patrick. (Eccl. History of Ireland, Vol. i. pp. 21—33.)

CENTURY
2—12.

in the form, as we are told, of little books, and full of such piety, as to make them necessary to all who love God. Their date is A.D. 369, and they were written, I need scarcely remark, previously to the falling of Celestius into his grievous errors, and sixty-two years before the arrival of St. Patrick ; but they evidently imply a full reception of Christianity into Ireland at a much earlier period. *

Sedulius.

The ablest opponent perhaps to be found to the arrogant and presumptuous heresy of Pelagius, was the countryman and contemporary of Celestius, the celebrated Sedulius. As a missionary he travelled through France, Italy, Asia, and Achaia. He wrote several works in prose and verse, among the former, a Comment on St. Paul's Epistles, entitled, 'Sedulius Scoti Hibernensis, in omnes Epistolas Pauli collectaneum.'† 'How profoundly skilled Sedu-

* St. Jerome, speaking of this Celestius, says, 'He was made *fat with Irish flummery*. He compares Pelagius to Pluto, the king of Hell, and Celestius to his dog Cerberus, whom he styles one of the disciples of Pelagius, or rather his master, and the leader of the whole host.' From this extract from St. Jerome, we may conclude that the bitterness of controversy was not confined to any particular age of the church.

† The following extracts from Sedulius' comment on St. Paul's epistles, are taken from Dr. Hale's work on the ancient British Churches. *On free will*,—'Man's *good will* precedes many gifts of God, but not all ; and of those which it does not precede, itself is one. Both (preventing and furthering grace) are recorded in Holy Writ. "His mercy shall go before me," (Psalm lix. 10.) and "his mercy shall follow me." (Psalm xxiii. 6.) It prevents the unwilling, that he may will, and furthers the willing, that it may not will in vain. For why are we admonished to "ask that we may receive," unless that what we will, may be done by him, through whose operation we so willed.' (On Rom. ix.)

The necessity of assisting grace, he further shows from the imperfect obedience even of the best of men. 'There is none of the elect,

lius was in the leading doctrines of the gospel, may be inferred from the clearness, conciseness, and appositeness of his remarks, critically comparing Scripture with itself, according to the analogy of faith. He was indeed an honour to his country, and a bright luminary in the ortho-

CENTURY
2—12.

though ever so great, whom the Devil dares not to accuse, but him alone “who did no sin,” and who also said “Now cometh the prince of this world, and in me he findeth nothing.” (On Rom. vii.) “There is none that doeth good,” that is to say, perfect and entire good. (On Rom. iii.) God’s elect shall be perfectly holy and spotless in the life to come, where “the church of Christ shall have no spot nor wrinkle,” however even in the present life, they may not improperly be called just, and holy, and spotless, though not entirely, but partly. (On Eph. i.) “Then only shall the just man be altogether without sin, when there shall be no law in his members warring against the law of his mind,” for though “sin reign not now in their mortal body,” yet sin dwells in the same mortal body, the force of that natural custom not being extinguished which we derive from our *mortal origin*, and increased by our actual transgressions.’ (On Eph. v.)

The sufficiency of God’s grace, he thus states, ‘We are *saints*, by the *calling* of God, not by the *merit* of our conduct, for “God is able to do exceeding *abundantly*, above what we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us,” not according to our merits.’ (On Eph. iii.) For we must know that, whatever men have of God, is of *grace*, because “*they have nothing of debt*.” (On Rom. xvi.)

Grace, faith, works, justification of man.

‘The law was given, not that it might take away sin, but that it might *conclude all under sin*, (Gal. iii. 22.) that men being by this means humbled, might understand that their salvation was not in their own power, but in the power of the Redeemer.’ (On Gal. iii.)

‘God has freely proposed by faith only to remit sins.’ (On Rom. iv.) ‘that believers shall be saved by faith only.’ (On Gal. iii.) ‘and that where men have fallen, they are to be renewed, ‘only by the faith of Christ, which worketh by love,’ (On Heb. vi.) ‘and this faith, when it has been justified, cleaveth to the soil of the soul, like a root moistened by rain ; so that, when it begins to be culti-

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dox church of his age. Surely the country that produced such scholars as Celestius and Sedulius, at that early period, must have arrived at a high state of mental civilization.'

Dr. Hales.

We learn from Dr. O'Halloran, a distinguished Roman Catholic antiquary, that at the period of which we are now speaking, and when Christianity was making such rapid progress in Ireland, 'a most uncompromising enmity existed in the minds of the Irish people against every thing connected with Rome.' It would therefore be unreasonable to suppose, that it was from Rome they received that instruction which broke down their heathen superstitions, dissolved their former system of religion, and produced such an important revolution in the minds of all, as ultimately to lead them, with one consent to profess themselves Christians. At this early period also, when the contest was carried on between the eastern and western churches, the converts had imbibed all those prejudices, which in after ages manifested themselves so strongly in favour of the eastern customs, and which were at the same time so decidedly opposed to the Roman mode of the tonsure and keeping of Easter; and when St. Patrick, on his arrival in the land, wished to exercise some kind of jurisdiction over the churches, he was told by St. Ibar, who was at the time ignorant of his mission from a sister church, 'that they never acknowledged the su-

O'Halloran,
ii. p. 7.
Ancient Irish
at enmity
with Rome.

vated by means of the law of God, it furnishes branches anew, which may bear the fruit of works, out of the root of righteousness, which God accepts for righteousness without works.' (On Rom. iv.) Well might Archbishop Usher say, 'that the profession and practice of Christianity in the fifth century in Ireland, varied very little from that of the present established Church of England and Ireland.'

premacý of a foreigner,' and therefore protested against his claims.*

CENTURY
2—12.

The protestant character of our church appears to have continued for ages. An attempt having been made in the seventh century by some missionaries sent over to assist Austin by Pope Gregory, to prevail on the Irish bishops to submit to the authority of the see of Rome, it proved as unsuccessful as their efforts in England for the same purpose. Their address however was highly respectful;—in the epistle they wrote on the occasion—'Laurentius and Justus, bishops, servants of the servants of God, to our lords, and dearly beloved brethren, the bishops and abbots throughout all Ireland.' In this epistle they complain of the aversion of their countrymen in England to them, 'we know the Britons, and hoped to find the Irish better disposed, but we learned by means of Dagonus, the bishop coming from Ireland into this country, and Columbanus the abbot in Gaul, that they differ in nothing from the Britons in their conversation, for Dagonus the Bishop coming to us, not only would not eat with us, but not even in the same lodging in which we dined.'

Protestant
character of
Irish church.

Columbanus the Irish missionary on the same occasion, wrote a letter to Pope Gregory himself, 'reproving his innovations with great freedom.' And again, writing to Pope Boniface the IVth. at the instigation of Agiluff, king of the Lombards, he says, 'It is your fault if you have deviated from the true faith.' And then he explicitly asserts the orthodoxy of his own country: 'In Ire-

* This account is given by the biographer of St. Colum Kille, whose virulence against Protestants and Protestantism, justifies him from the charge of partiality to an opinion, which states so fully that the Church of his native country rejected with disdain all foreign interference. (Vide O'Halloran, ii. p. 11.)

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2—12.

Columbanus
Epist. iv. in
Collect. Sacris
Lovanii. 1667,
or O'Connor's
Epist. nun-
cup. pp. 134,
135, 138, 139.

land there has been neither heretic, nor Jew, nor schismatic; for there the catholic faith is maintained unshaken according as it was first delivered by you the successors of the holy apostles.*

Again when Gregory the Great, under the mask of the most profound humility, attempted to domineer over the Irish Church for the first time, in the noted controversy, concerning the writings and character of Theodorus, Theodoret, and Ibas, in the Nestorian heresy, about the person and nature of Christ, the Irish bishops peremptorily resisted his mandate, and with good reason on their side, preferred the judgment of other churches; it was on the subject of this controversy that Columbanus addressed the letter from which the above extract has been taken, to the then Pope Boniface IV. The account of this controversy is given by the *Romish* annalist Baronius in the following words. 'All the bishops belonging to Ireland unanimously rose up with the most ardent zeal for the defence of the three chapters. They added also the further *crime*, that when they had perceived that the church of Rome had adopted the condemnation of those chapters along with the fifth synod of Constantinople, (A.D. 553) and strengthened the synod with her concurrence, they *receded* from her, as well as others in Italy, in Africa, or in other countries, who adhered to the schismatics, animated with the vain confidence that they were contending for the *catholic faith*, when they defended the decrees of the fourth general council of Chalcedon, (A.D. 451) approving of the three chapters. And so much the more fixedly do they adhere to their error, because whatever Italy suffered by the commotions of wars, by famine, or by pestilence, all

* The nature and character of these letters will be fully discussed when we come to the history of the life and writings of Columbanus.

these misfortnes befel her they thought, because she had undertaken to fight for the fifth synod, against the council of Chalcedon.' Yet, notwithstanding the Romish testimony here given, Dr. Rock in his letter to Lord John Manners, positively asserts, 'that from its very beginning, through all ages to the present time, the Irish church has been closely united with Rome, and while it has acknowledged, has also paid obedience to, the papal supremacy.' *

CENTURY
2—12.

Dan. Rock's
Lett. to Lord
John Man-
ners, p. 6.

* Did the Irish clergy before the twelfth century take any oaths to the Pope? No! (Dr. O'Connor's Columbanus, iii. 160.)

Did the Irish clergy apply to the see of Rome for Bulls of nomination, institution, or exemption? No. (Charles O'Connor's Senr. Dissert. on Irish History, p. 203.)

Did the Irish clergy ever appeal to Rome for the decision of ecclesiastical causes? No. (Ibid.)

Had the Pope of Rome anything to say either directly or indirectly with the appointment of Irish bishops? None whatever. (Connor's Colum. v. p. 45.)

Had Papal Legates any jurisdiction in Ireland? None whatever, till the twelfth century, and then the jurisdiction was limited to the English Pale. (O'Connor's Historical Address, i. p. 10.)

Where then is Dr. Rock's papal supremacy?

CHAPTER II.

PALLADIUS, THE FIRST MISSIONARY FROM THE SEE OF ROME—
HIS MISSION A FAILURE—THE EASTERN ORIGIN OF THE IRISH
CHURCH—THE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK—HIS MISSION NOT FROM
ROME—THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE MISSION OF ST. PA-
TRICK—THE FLOURISHING STATE OF RELIGION IN IRELAND—
IRELAND THE SEAT OF LEARNING—THE TESTIMONY OF MO-
SHEIM.

CENTURY
2—12.

Palladius
first missoin-
ary.

Prosper
Chron. ad
ann. 431.

PALLADIUS the first missionary from the see of Rome. The account of this mission is given in Prosper's Chronicle, and the manner in which it is mentioned is peculiarly striking. The words are these, 'Ad Scotus* in Christum credentes ordinatur a Papa Celestino Palladius, et primus

* From several of the early writers, Adso, Prosper, &c. we are informed, that Ireland was called Scotia Major, and Albannia or Scotland, Scotia Minor, from an early colony of the Milesians, or Irish Scoti, who settled at Dalriede in Scotland, and who from their uniting with the Caledonian Picts, and being constantly recruited by fresh emigrations from Ireland, at length gave their name to the entire region of which at first, they occupied only a small corner. Bede (writing in A. D. 731) says of Ireland 'this is properly speaking, the country of the Scots ; emigrating from this, they added in Britain a third nation to the Britons and Picts, already settled there.' 'From the consent of all antiquity the name Scoti belonged to the Irish alone, till the eleventh century.' (Pinkerton's enquiry into the history of Scotland. Vol. II. p. 261.)

episcopus mittitur.' 'Palladius was sent to the Scots believing in Christ,' as their first, or rather perhaps their chief bishop. St. Celestine was the bishop who consecrated Palladius, and sent him, not so much to preach to the pagan Irish, as to strengthen and assist those of the nation who were already believers in Christ. The mission totally failed; after remaining a few months, or, as some say, only three weeks in the country, Palladius was obliged to retire, and died in Scotland in the January following.

CENTURY
2—12.

The question may now be fairly asked, why were the labours of Palladius to so little effect, and his stay so short in Ireland? Nennius, a Roman Catholic writer, dryly observes, 'that no man can receive any thing upon earth, unless it be given him from heaven.' Probus, another Roman Catholic writer, remarks, 'the Irish were wild and barbarous, and would not receive the doctrines of Palladius.' Joceline, the biographer of St. Patrick, says, 'because they would not believe his preaching, but most obstinately opposed him, Palladius departed their country.' All these were silly evasions of the truth. Palladius was an intruder into a church which was complete and independent. The Irish clergy and people of that day would not listen to his foreign commission, and therefore they rejected the Pope and his delegate; and such is the tenor of our ecclesiastical history from the second to the twelfth century.*

His mission
a failure.

* My Lord John Manners, in his place, in the house of Commons, during the debate on the Arms Bill in 1843, had the candour and honesty to declare, that 'if there be one fact in Irish history, more clear than another, it is, that the Roman Catholic Church was not the Church of the Irish people originally.' In consequence of this declaration, Daniel Rock, D.D. of Priest's House, Berks, has addressed a long letter to him, in which he states, "that if the opinions expressed by his Lordship had been spoken by Irishmen who have

Hume, whose indifference to all religion renders him at least an unprejudiced witness, corroborates the account here given of the early independence of the Irish Church, ‘the Irish (says the historian) followed the doctrines of

been brought up with warmer likings for the exotic orange lily, than their own home-grown, bright green shamrock, and who seem always to have hanging over their eyes, the Dutchman’s emblematic flower, so as to tinge their sight in such a way, that whatsoever they happen to behold, may be viewed through a yellow light ; the expression of such opinions would have awakened in my mind, no other feelings than astonishment at the recklessness of the writer, and pity for the lack of common knowledge shewn by the men, who gave them utterance. I should have smiled, (continues this genuine scion of “the Rock family,”) in security at the dart thus hurled at the present catholic Church in Ireland, knowing that it would fall guiltless of any harm, and be like Priam’s feeble spear, “telumque imbellè sine ictu.”

‘Not so however, with words that fall from Lord John Manners ;’ and after bedaubing his Lordship with fulsome panegyric, he proceeds to lay bare his mistakes, and to show him first that ‘the Irish church was founded by a pope. Secondly, that from its very beginning, through all ages to the present time, the Irish Church has been closely united with Rome, and while it has acknowledged, has also paid obedience to the papal supremacy ; and thirdly, that this Irish Church has ever held neither more nor less, than that very same religious belief, taught by the now reigning Pope Gregory XVI, and professed by the millions of Christians throughout the world ; keeping up communion with him, and willingly yielding him spiritual obedience, as successor to St. Peter, and sole head of Christ’s Church.’

To prove the first of these prepositions, that ‘the Irish Church was founded by a Pope,’ Dr. Rock quotes the passage from Prosper already referred to, and then proceeds :—‘St. Prosper’s evidence is most weighty ; he was one of the leading men of the age, he lived at the time, and was intimately acquainted with the personages, who acted in the above rehearsed events. Could we therefore bring forward no other witnesses, this single testimony, which has never been

their first teachers, and never (at the period alluded to) acknowledged any subjection to the see of Rome.

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Having thus briefly, but I should hope sufficiently, proved the early introduction of christianity into Ireland, and that not by Romish missionaries, I shall now endeavour to produce those authorities, which in my mind, not only point out, but substantiate, the fact of its eastern origin.

Grose, in his introduction to the monastic antiquities states, ‘that Polycarp sent missionaries to spread the gospel in the western and northern parts of Europe, who settled Episcopacy, and gave a pure and uncorrupted ritual to their converts. Their liturgy agreed with the Greek ; and the religion of the Irish continued, for ten centuries, different from that of Rome, which is a strong evidence of our receiving the Gospel, not from Roman, but from Greek Missionaries’.*

Eastern origin of the Irish church, p. xii.

Dr. O’Halloran, who has been already mentioned, expresses his opinion on the same subject in the following

impeached, would alone be quite enough to show, that to a bishop of Rome was pagan Ireland indebted, first, for her conversion to the Gospel, and afterwards for her hierarchy.’

How unfortunate it is for the learned Doctor’s argument, that Palladius was *not* sent to pagan Ireland, but to “the congregation of of faithful people” in that Island, and what is still more unfortunate is that these faithful people “the Church,” would not receive him. So that ‘pagan Ireland’ was not indebted to the Bishop of Rome, either first, for her conversion, nor afterwards for her hierarchy.

* In several respects the Irish Church agreed with the Greek, whilst she differed from that of Rome.

1st. In deferring baptism till the eighth day, a practice which I believe still observed in Russia, if not in other oriental Churches. (See Ross’s *παισεβεια* § 14. c. 6. p. 243, and chap. IV.

II. One of the solemn times for administering baptism in Ireland was the Epiphany (besides Easter and Pentecost). In this respect

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words, 'I strongly suspect that by Asiatic, or African Missionaries, or through them by Spanish ones, were our Ancestors instructed in Christianity; because they rigidly adhered to their customs, as to tonsure, and the time of Easter. Certain it is, that Patrick found an hierarchy established in Ireland.'

ST. PATRICK.

Life of St. Patrick.
Dr. Phelan.

It has been assumed with much confidence, by Roman Catholic writers, that the primitive Church of Ireland, was a branch of the papacy, and until very lately our antiquaries were unanimous in ascribing the origin of the Irish

the Irish agreed with the eastern and African churches. (Lanigan iv.)

III. Infant communion, which is practised at this day in the east, was observed in Ireland long after it had been discontinued in the different western churches. (Lanigan iii. 309—455.)

IV. The Irish imitated the Greek Church in fasting on a Wednesday (Uss. Brit. Eccl. Anti. iv. to cxviii. p. 832.)

V. Abstinence from blood, according to Acts xv. 29, was strictly observed in Ireland (Lanigan iii. 140). In this respect she also resembled the Greek Church. (See the 55th of the apostolic canons, and the second canon of Gangra, and the 67th of the Trullan canons.)

VI. The *Cursus Scotorum*, or Irish Liturgy, was of Oriental origin, having been brought originally from Alexandria. See Spelm. Council. i. 177.)

VII. *Choriepiscopi*, or village bishops, existed as an order in Ireland long after they had been discontinued in the Romish Church. (Lanigan iii. 477—iv. 35.)

VIII. The Easter observed by the Irish was the same as that which had been anciently celebrated in the eastern church.' (Mosheim, Cent. ii. Part 2).

IX. From the case of Theodore (Bede, Hist. Lib. iv. c. 1,) the *ecclesiastical tonsure* used by the Irish was also of oriental origin. (Richard Hart.)

Church to a mission from Rome, under St. Patrick ; but the opinion rested, I should say, on no sufficient authority. The documents usually quoted in its support, were for the most part, of a date comparatively recent ; they abounded in anachronisms, contradictions and such an extravagant profusion of miracles, as would make a general law the most miraculous thing in nature.*

Struck with those circumstances, the late Dr. Ledwich, a man of taste, sagacity, and information, boldly denied the existence of St. Patrick. He has been answered by three Roman ecclesiastics, Doctors O'Connor, Milner and Lanigan, all men of great erudition, and all deeply sensible

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His mission
not from
Rome.

Controversy
concerning
the mission
of St. Patrick.

* Cardinal Valerio tells us, it was customary with the monks to exercise their scholars in composition by proposing the usual topics to them ; *the lives and martyrdom of saints*, popular songs, and more commonly the suggestions of their own fancy, were the ground-work of their amplifications. The best of these were laid by, and after some years produced as genuine works.

There is a curious anecdote in H. Wharton, that bears on this point. ‘About the year 1380, flourished Gilbert de Stone, a learned ecclesiastic and good Latin writer. The monks of Holywell in Flintshire, applied to him to write the life of their patron saint. Stone asked for materials, he was answered there were none ; upon which he said, he could execute the work without materials, and would write them a most excellent legend, after the manner of the legend of Thomas à Becket.’ By such juvenile monkish exercises, lives of St. Patrick multiplied amazingly. When Joceline sat down to compose his life, he found that sixty-four biographers had preceded him in his work. All with the exception of four were destroyed in the Norwegian invasion. From these, he tells us, he selected such facts as deserved belief. The following are some of the miracles which our author thinks credible. St. Patrick while an infant brought a new river from the earth, which cured the blind. He produced fire from ice. He raised his nurse from the dead. He expelled a devil from an heifer ; and changed water into honey. These were but the infant sports of this wonder-working saint.

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of the importance of the question to the cause of their church.

‘I now propose (continues Dr. Phelan) to shew, that Ledwich and his opponents, have divided the truth between them. With the latter, *I maintain the existence of St. Patrick*—with the former, *I deny his Roman mission*. To establish this point, it will be necessary to review two classes of authorities ; the one Romish documents, in which, as Ledwich observed, the name of Patrick is suspiciously omitted ; the other, Irish documents, which have been adduced on the opposite side, and which, as they are decisive for the existence of our Saint, so, as I hope to prove, they are equally decisive against his Roman Mission.

ROMISH DOCUMENTS.

Patrick is not mentioned in the chronicle of Prosper. Prosper published his chronicle many years after the time of Patrick. He was disposed to do full justice to the spiritual achievements of the Pontiff, yet he does not mention Patrick. Palladius, as I said before, came to Ireland, staid a few weeks, built three chapels and ran away : but because Palladius was sent by Celestine, Prosper has commemorated the brief and ignoble effort. On the other hand, when Prosper published the last edition of his chronicles, Patrick had been twenty-three years in Ireland, and his ministry had been blessed with the most signal success. What could have been the reason that he was omitted by Prosper ?

The venerable Bede agrees with Prosper in the mention of Palladius, and the omission of Patrick. Bede was strongly attached to the see of Rome, and though he speaks in liberal and grateful terms of the Irish, he sel-

dom forgets to qualify his praise by some slight censure on their schismatical discipline.*

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The testimonies of Irish writers, especially the confession of Patrick himself.—We learn from this document that Patrick was born in Britain, and educated in Gaul: that some time after his return home he felt an impulse to preach the gospel in Ireland: that he was consecrated at home, and that he proceeded immediately to the scene of his ministry. During the remainder of his life, he considered himself fixed in Ireland by the inviolable bonds of duty; but occasionally the high resolves of the apostle were weakened by the natural yearnings of the man. ‘I wished,’ he says, ‘to go to Britain, my native country, and to my parents; nay, also to go to Gaul, to visit my brethren, and to see the face of the holy ones of my Lord; God knows I wished it very much; but I was detained by the Spirit, denouncing to me, that if I did so, I should be regarded as an offender. I fear to lose the labours which I have sustained, yet not I, but the Lord Christ, who has commanded me to abide for the remainder of my life, with those among whom I have come.’ He desires to visit Britain, and his parents—Gaul and his spiritual brethren; but of Italy or the Pope, there is no mention.

* The learned opponents of Dr. Ledwich have appealed from the Ecclesiastical History, the undoubted work of Bede, to the martyrologies which are ascribed to him. Now, these attest only the *existence*, not the *Roman Orders*, or *Roman Mission*, of our patron saint; it is therefore, not worth while to deny their authority. Platina, who wrote the lives of the Popes down to Sixtus IV. A.D. 1471, makes no mention of St. Patrick, in his life of Pope Celestine, though he speaks of Palladius. Again, in the important Synod of Whitby, where we should have expected the saint’s name to have been mentioned—no allusion whatever is made to him or his authority, although this was within less than 200 years after his death.

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The elder Cumian, the disciple and biographer of Columba, who wrote at the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, calls St. Patrick, *the first apostle of Ireland*. Thus it appears that while the papal writers make Palladius the first apostle, and take no notice of Patrick, the Irish make Patrick the *first*, and take no notice of Palladius.

The hymn of Fiech, of the same antiquity, also opposes the Roman hypothesis. In the first four stanzas, we have the parentage of the apostle, his captivity and flight from Ireland; then the story proceeds as follows :

He traversed the whole of Albion,
He crossed the sea ; it was a happy voyage ;
And he took up his abode with German,
Far away to the south of Armorica.

Among the isles of the Tuscan sea,
There he abode, as I pronounce,
He studied the Canons with German,
Thus it is that the churches testify ;

To the land of Erin he returned,
The angels of God inviting him,
Often had he seen in visions,
That he should come once more to Erin.

Here the route of the apostle is traced for us with the accuracy of a map. From Ireland, through Britain, across the channel, through Armorica, to the south-east corner of Gaul, on the coast of which are situated Lerins, and some other islands, the seats, in those days, of collegiate institutions. When his studies were concluded, he was brought back to Ireland. And through the sequel of the poem, he is represented as continuing there for the remainder of his life. Through the whole piece, Italy is omitted; and in a

narrative so orderly and circumstantial as this is, omission is equivalent to exclusion.

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I now come to the Cottonian MS., this very curious and important document concurs entirely with the hymn of Fiech; it make him a student of Lerins. It says that the bishops German and Lupus nurtured him in sacred literature; that they ordained him, and made him the chief bishop of their school among the Irish and Britons.

On the subject of the Roman mission of St. Patrick, these documents maintain a profound and eloquent silence. A direct contradiction to the hypothesis, we cannot expect from them, without ascribing to their authors the gift of prophecy; but they do what is equivalent, they leave no room for it. They give us all the particulars, of which we reasonably expect to be informed. They tell us both the place of his birth and education; they state who instructed him, who ordained him, who sent him to preach in Ireland, and finally they show, that after the commencement of his ministry, he never left the island. On the other hand, it has appeared, that the adherents of Rome are as silent concerning Patrick, as Patrick and his disciples are with respect to Rome.

How then is the Roman hypothesis sustained by the learned and zealous writers of whom I speak,—we may safely include Dr. Rock among this number. They take refuge in those obscure and recent legends, *which they are ashamed to quote, when maintaining the existence of Patrick*, and which on every other occasion they reject with a contempt as undisguised as it is merited; and yet *after all* they cannot agree. Drs. Milner and O'Connor assert that Patrick was ordained by Celestine. Dr. Lanigan, after, as he declares, the labour and close application of many years, having collated every tract and document

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that he could meet with, gives the ordination to *an unknown Bishop of an unknown place.*

Again, Dr. O'Connor thinks himself very safe, when he states, that Patrick was *not* at Rome *earlier than the year 402*, but Dr. Lanigan will not allow him to have been there *for twenty-nine years after.* Still further Dr. Milner says, that in the year 461, Patrick went to Rome, to render an account of his ministry to the Pope; the Irishmen, more candid, or more wary than their fellow-labourer, reject the account as 'a fable.' In fine, except upon the one indispensable point, these learned men oppose each other, with as little ceremony as they controvert Dr. Ledwich, and in that particular they reverse the natural order of evidence. They assume that Patrick *must have had* a commission from Rome, and then they conjecture *when* and *how* he obtained it: instead of deriving their hypothesis from facts, they rest their facts upon an hypothesis.*

* The Rev. William Palmer, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford, in his Ecclesiastical History, gives a series of Irish bishops, from the Apostle Peter to the present Primate of Ireland. And without adducing a particle of evidence he states, 'that Celestine, the forty-fourth bishop of Rome, sent Patrick to Ireland as the first Archbishop of Armagh in 432.' Now in the first place, there were no Archbishops in the primitive Irish church; nor 'were' as Mr. Palmer says, 'the Apostolic labours of St. Patrick rewarded by the conversion of the Irish nation to Christianity.'—(Eccles. Hist. p. 71.) The conversion of that nation took place a considerable time before the mission of St. Patrick.

If Mr. Palmer be correct in representing the Roman mission of St. Patrick to have taken place so late as 432, how does it occur, that he was not acquainted with the decree of the General Council of Nice, in 325, which determined the period at which Easter should be kept more than a century before? And if this Patrick was, as Mr. Palmer represents him, the first Archbishop of Armagh, how

St. Patrick, according to Archbishop Usher, was a native of North Britain, being born in the year 372. He was the son of a deacon, and the grandson of a priest.

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did it happen that the Irish abandoned the Roman cycle, which, if he came from Rome he must have introduced, and adopted the cycle of Sulpitius, which was derived from the church of Lyons? Again, how was it possible that Patrick (being a Roman) could have been ignorant of ‘the Apostolic Canons?’ a book held in the highest possible authority in the Church of Rome, which regulates the consecration of bishops by *three*, and not by *one*, which was the Irish custom. And it is a very remarkable circumstance in connection with this subject, that at the council held at Aongusgrove in Meath, in 1111, it was agreed that the bishops were to resign the right, they had received *from St. Patrick*, of consecrating bishops at pleasure.

The fact is, that St. Patrick was not sent from Rome, and was not aware (as Bede says of the Irish Church generally) of the customs of the Romish Church, and had received both his christian instruction and commission, from the Gallican Church, which then followed Asiatic customs, and acknowledged the See of Ephesus as its head, and St. John as its founder.

It sounds passing strange to a Protestant ear, to hear the Rev. W. Palmer in this same Ecclesiastical History, *commending* the faith of the Romish Church for its condemnation of the Albigenses, (p. 174.) and handing over all the reformed churches on the continent, and the established church of Scotland, who ‘believe all the articles of the christian faith,’ to ‘the uncovenanted mercies of God.’ (p. 248.) And to prevent a possibility of any misunderstanding of his meaning in the above expression, we find another Reverend Gentleman of the same name and school, in his letter to Mr. Golightly, exclaiming—‘I say anathema to the principle of protestantism (which I regard as identical with that of dissent) and to all its forms, and sects, and denominations, especially to those of the Lutherans and Calvinists, and British and American dissenters. Likewise to all persons who knowingly and willingly, and understanding what they say, shall assert, either for themselves, or for the Church of England, to have, *one and the same common religion with any or all*, of the various forms and sects of protestantism, or shall communicate themselves, in the temples of protestant sects, or give the communion to their members, or go about

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When he was sixteen years of age, he was taken captive by some Irish pirates, and brought to Ireland. Here he continued for six years, and as there seemed to have been

to establish any inter-communion between ourselves and them,—to all such I say anathema.’¹

It is curious to observe the striking similarity between Mr. Palmer’s anathema, and that contained in the Bull, ‘In Cœna Domini,’ published at Rome every Maundy Thursday,—‘We do excommunicate and anathematize all Hussites, Wickliffites, Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists, Huguenots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and Apostates from the faith of Christ, and all, and sundry other heretics, by whatsoever name they may be reckoned, and of whatever sect they may be, and those who believe in them, and their receivers, abettors, and generally speaking all their defenders, whatsoever, and those who without authority of us, and of the Apostolic See, knowingly read, or retain, or imprint, or in any way defend books containing their heresy, or treating of religion, let it be from what cause it may, publicly, or privately, under any pretence or colour whatsoever, as also the schismatics, and those who pertinaciously withdraw themselves, or recede from obedience to us and the Roman Pontiff for the time being.’

‘Since the time of Clement XIV.,’ says Dr. Baggs, in his account of the ceremonies of the Holy Week, ‘the custom of reading from the Loggia, on Maundy Thursday, the Bull “in Cœna Domini,” has been abolished.’ According to the doctrine of St. Paul, the blessed sacrament is the bond, as it is the symbol of union and communion between the faithful;—“we being many are one body, all who partake of one bread;”² (1 Cor. x. 17.) and hence this day of its institution was selected for the public *excommunication* of those, who reject the doctrines of the Church, or maliciously oppose her ordinances. After the Bull had been read, ‘many candles are lighted, of which the lord Pope himself holds some, and each Cardinal and Prelate one lighted, and he extinguishes and throws them on the

¹ Anathema is explained in the Douay Bible, to mean a thing devoted to utter destruction.

² “For we being many, are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread.”—(true translation.)

a law in Ireland (says Ware) agreeable to the institution of Moses, 'that a servant should be released the seventh year,' he was permitted to return to his native country, having during his captivity been converted to the faith of Christ, and having made himself well acquainted with the language and manners of the people of Ireland.

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From this period he is said to have had an intense desire to be employed as a Missionary in Ireland. To prepare himself for this purpose, we are told, that he passed into France, the very country from which, in all probability, the gospel was originally sent to Ireland, and spent some years under the tuition of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, who ordained him a deacon, being subsequently made a presbyter by Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre. After that he spent some time among the canons of the Lateran Church, and then took up his abode among a colony of monks in the Tuscan sea.

Having in 429, accompanied Germanus and Lupus on their mission into Britain, his former desire for the spiritual instruction of the Irish, seems to have revived with increased ardour. He preached in Britain for some time, with great success, and having received consecration from these bishops, from thence passed over to Ireland,

ground, saying, We excommunicate all the aforesaid, and then the bells are rung together without observing any order.'

'These ceremonies are interpreted to mean the *extinction of the grace of the Holy Ghost*, and dispersion of unbelievers ; as on the contrary, the regular and orderly ringing of bells calls the faithful together.' This would be the time for the accomplishing of Mr. Palmer's plan, viz. 'I would like to see the Patriarch of Constantinople and our Archbishop of Canterbury, go barefoot to Rome, and fall upon the Pope's neck and kiss him, and never let him go till they had persuaded him to be reasonable : '—not to lay aside his character (be it remembered) "as the man of sin," but simply to be *reasonable*.

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where he became one of the most successful missionaries, that ever appeared in the land of Erin.

It is computed with much probability that it was after many long and laborious wanderings—after he had established the Church on the best foundation which circumstances permitted, that he bent his way towards the north, with the intention of establishing a primatial see, and confirming his labours by a body of canons. With this in view, he reached the place then called Denein Sailrach, and since Armagh. From the chief of this district, he obtained possession of a large tract, and founded a city upon it, large in compass, and beautiful in situation, with monastery, cathedral, schools, &c, and resolved to establish it as the primatial see of the Irish Church.

This foundation, according to Usher and Harris, took place in 445. Here, and at his favourite retreat at Sabhul, he probably spent the remainder of his life. To the same period, must also be referred ‘the canons,’ universally ascribed to him, and supposed to have been ordained in a synod, held in Armagh. They are yet extant, and many of their provisions are such, as to indicate their antiquity. By the sixth ‘the wife of a priest was obliged, when abroad, to appear veiled.’ The fourteenth, lays a penalty ‘on those who should have recourse to soothsaying, or the inspection of the entrails of beasts for searching into future events.’*

* ‘I know not,’ writes Archbishop Usher, ‘what credit is to be given unto that straggling sentence which I find ascribed to St. Patrick in these Canons,—“If any questions do arise in this island, let them be referred to the See Apostolic:” or that other decree attributed to Auxilius, Patricius, Secundus, and Benignus,—“Whosoever any cause that is very difficult, and unknown unto all the

Omitting (says Wills in his lives of illustrious and dis- CENTURY
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judges of the Scottish Nation, shall arise, it is rightly to be referred to the see of the Archbishop of the Irish, (to wit Patrick) and to the examination of the Prelate thereof. But if there be, by him, and his wise men, a cause of this nature that cannot easily be made up, we have decreed, it shall be sent to the See Apostolic, that is to say, to the chair of the Apostle Peter, which hath the authority of the city of Rome.”

Now, supposing for one moment, that this canon and decree were genuine, were they ever acted upon before the twelfth century? The ancient Irish Church on no occasion ever appealed to the Bishop of Rome. There was one solitary case brought forward by Dr. Rock, which, at first sight looks like an appeal to Rome; but a very brief examination of the facts of the case, will be sufficient to show that it really was not one.

‘The attention of the Irish Church,’ says Lanigan, ‘was called to the subject of the proper time for celebrating the festival of Easter, by Laurentius, Archbishop of Canterbury, the successor of St. Augustine, who, about the year 609, addressed a letter to the Bishops and Abbots of Ireland, in which he endeavoured to bring them over to adopt an uniformity of practice with the Church of Rome.’ A few years later, a similar letter was addressed to them by Pope Honorius I, exhorting them not to set their own judgment in opposition to the rules of computation sanctioned by the whole Christian world. (Bede i. ii. c. 4. Usher Sylloge. Epist. vii. Works, vol. iv. p. 421.)

Shortly after the receipt of this letter, a Synod was held at, or near Old Leighlin. In this assembly the whole question was discussed. To put an end therefore to this controversy, it was resolved by the Elders ‘that whereas, according to a synodical canon, every important ecclesiastical question, should be referred to the head of cities: some wise and humble persons should be sent to Rome *as children to their mother*.’ These deputies being arrived, there saw with their own eyes, Easter celebrated at one and the same time by people of various countries, and having returned to Ireland in the third year from their departure, solemnly declared to those who had deputed them, that the Roman method was that of the whole world. (Lanigan ii. p. 339.)

We have now before us, in the language of Dr. Lanigan, the main

tinguished Irishmen) the absurdity of a visit to Rome in his old age, we may now close our perhaps too rapid

facts of the one solitary instance in which, any thing bearing the semblance of an appeal to Rome, has been discovered by Dr. Rock, in the whole history of the Church in Ireland, from the second to the twelfth century.

In this account, is there one word said about the Pope, or about going to Rome for judgment? If the messengers had carried an appeal to Rome, why did they not bring back the authoritative papal instructions, instead of simply reporting to the Synod, the result of their own observation, that the Roman Easter was celebrated throughout the whole world? Does not the very report indubitably prove that they were sent to Rome, not to ask for any papal rescript or decision, but to see with their own eyes, and report to their brethren, the result of their own observation with regard to Easter, among the great concourse of Christians from all parts of the world, who were continually flocking to that great city.

And yet Dr. Rock exults in this, as if it supplied an unanswerable proof of the modern Roman doctrine, that ‘the popes claimed and exercised, without being gainsaid, their spiritual supremacy over the early Church in Ireland.’ ‘Was an outcry raised among the Irish,’ he asks, ‘when they heard this letter from the Pope? None.’ Nay, what cause was there for an outcry?—The Pope had made no claim to jurisdiction over them, he had simply written to them, as one Christian bishop may at any time write to another; and as the Archbishop of Canterbury had just before written to them on the very same subject. Dr. Rock’s argument, therefore, if good for any thing, would prove the supremacy of the See of Canterbury, as well as that of Rome. Besides, it is admitted on all hands, that the letter of Pope Honorius, did not settle the question, which it ought to have done, on the theory of the Papal Supremacy.

Dr. Rock makes a great deal of the phrase ‘*velut natos ad matrem*’—‘as children to their mother.’ As if it of itself *proved* the Roman supremacy, a passage from Eadmer, which he himself quotes, (p. 104.) might have shewn him that the term *Mater* (mother) which is applied by Eadmer to the See of Canterbury, implied only a *Primacy*, belonging to every metropolitan Church, and not *Supremacy*, in the sense now claimed by Rome.

sketch of his eventful life. Amongst the last of his acts, was the short narrative he has left us of himself under the title of ‘confession.’ This simple, characteristic, often affecting, and always unpretending document, is precisely what the occasion and the character of the writer required, and is quite free from the difficulties which affect his more recent lives. He speaks of approaching death, and returns thanks for the mercies of God to himself, and to the Irish, &c. He was seized with his last illness at Saul, or Sabhul, near Downpatrick; and wishing to die in Armagh, he attempted the journey, but was compelled by his complaint to return, and breathed his last on the 17th of March.

If we view his character, as represented by the facts of his life, combined with his own account of himself, and take into account the difficulties, with which he must have contended, and the results of his labours, we are struck by the consistency of the facts, with the character; and feel irresistibly the conviction, that this is no creation of legendary writers, whose statements plainly prove them to have wanted both the knowledge and good taste requisite for such a conception.

St. Patrick’s gravity, simplicity, wisdom, moderation, piety, and just views of scriptural christianity, gleam through the most legendary of these fantastic inventions, and confirm their pretension to a foundation in the main correct; while these ennobling traits are as inconsistent with the superstitious fancies of his biographers, as they are with the drunken orgies and unchristian observances, which help to cast a disrespect on his memory in our time.

To the flourishing state of religion and letters in Ireland, after the apostolic labours of Sedulius and Patrick,

The flourishing state of religion in Ireland.

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honourable and impartial testimony is borne by Camden, Bede and others; the disciples of these men profited so notably in Christianity, that in the succeeding ages, nothing was held more holy, more learned, than the Irish clergy, insomuch that they sent out swarms of devoted missionaries into every part of Europe, who founded abbies in Liewxew in Burgundy, Bobio in Italy, Wiitzburg in Franconia, St. Gall in Switzerland, and Malmshury and Lindisfarne, with many others in Britain.*

In those days also, our Anglo-Saxons flowed from every quarter into Ireland, as a mart of sound literature; whence in our accounts of holy men, we frequently read, ‘*amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam*:’ ‘he was sent for education to Ireland;’ and in the life of Sulden, it is said, ‘*exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi, iuit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile clarus*:’ ‘after the example of his fathers, inspired with love of reading, he went to the Irish, renowned for admirable wisdom.’

Camden
Hibernica, p.
647, 648.

Bede also states that ‘many of the English, both nobles, and of mean parents, in the time of Bishop Finan, and of Coleman, went to Ireland for instruction in sacred and profane literature; all of whom the Irish entertained most freely, furnished with daily provision, books, and tuition gratis.’ Such were the effects of divine grace on the hearts of our people. Such was Irish hospitality, before the influence of the Italian Church had warped and distorted the national character.†

Eccles. Hist.
lib. iii. c. 27.

* ‘Our monasteries,’ says Primate Usher, ‘in ancient times, were the seminaries of the ministry, being as it were, so many colleges of learned divines, whereunto the people usually resorted for instruction. and the church was wont continually to be supplied with able ministers.’

† The genius of the people being turned to literature, the arts and

The character of the Irish in these early times, for learning and advancement in religious knowledge, is freely admitted by the most distinguished persons in other countries. The learned and intelligent Mosheim, makes honourable mention of them, in different parts of his excellent church history. In the seventh century he says,

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2—12.

The testimony of
Mosheim.

sciences were much cultivated in Ireland. Several Princes were therefore sent there from the continent for their education. There is at present in the Abbey of Slane, at Slane Castle, the seat of the Marquis of Conyngham, a mutilated tomb-stone, on which with difficulty may be traced the name of a Prince of France sent there for education,—the arms of which country were sculptured on the stone, but the whole so defaced by time, that the date was not discoverable.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who visited Ireland in the train of Henry II., and greatly prejudiced against every thing Irish, speaks however as follows, of the instrumental music of that country :—‘ The attention of this people to musical instruments, I find worthy of commendation, in which their skill is beyond all comparison superior to that of any nation I have seen ; for in these the modulation is not slow and solemn, as in the instruments of Britain, to which we are accustomed, but the sounds are rapid and precipitate, yet at the same time sweet and pleasing. It is wonderful how, in such precipitate rapidity of the fingers, the musical proportions are preserved, and by their art, faultless throughout, in the midst of their complicated modulations, and most intricate arrangements of notes, by a rapidity so sweet, a regularity so irregular, a concord so discordant, the melody is rendered harmonious and perfect, whether the cords of the diatesseron, or diapason, are struck together, yet they always begin in a soft mood, and end in the same, that all may be perfected in the sweetness of delicious sounds. They enter on, and again leave their modulations with so much subtilty, and the tinglings of the small strings sport with so much freedom, under the deep notes of the bass, delight with so much delicacy, and sooth so softly, that the excellence of their art seems to lie in concealing it.’—(Topog. Hib. distinct. iii. c. ii.) It is probable, that this proficiency in music induced Henry II. to adopt the harp as the arms of Ireland.

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‘Many of the British, Scottish, and Irish ecclesiastics, travelled among the Batavian, Belgic, and German nations, with the pious intention of propagating the knowledge of the truth, and of erecting churches, and forming religious establishments among them.’ This was the true reason, which induced the Germans in after-times to found so many convents for the Scots and Irish, of which some are yet in being. Columbanus, an Irish monk, seconded by the labours of a few companions, had happily extirpated in the preceding century, the ancient superstitions of Gaul, and the parts adjacent, where idolatry had taken the deepest root; he also carried the lamp of celestial truth, among the Suevi, the Boii, the Franks and other German nations, and persevered in these pious, and useful labours until his death. St. Gall, who was one of his companions, preached the gospel to the Helvetii, and the Suevi.

In the history of the eighth century, Mosheim has occasion again to make honourable mention of Ireland. ‘The Irish or Hibernians, who in this century were known by the name of Scots, were the only divines who refused to dishonour their reason by submitting it implicitly to the dictates of authority. Naturally subtile and sagacious, they applied their philosophy to the illustration of the truth and doctrines of religion; a method which was almost generally abhorred and exploded in all other nations.’ This passage is accompanied by the following interesting note. ‘That the Hibernians who were called Scots, were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves, in these times of ignorance, by the culture of the sciences beyond all other European nations, travelling through the most distant lands, both with a view to improve and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have long been acquainted, as we see them, in the

most authentic records of antiquity, discharging with the highest reputation and applause, the functions of Doctors in France, Germany and Italy, both during this and the following century. But that these Hibernians were the first teachers of the scholastic theology in Europe, and so early as the eighth century, illustrating the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, I learned but lately from the testimony of Benedict, Abbot of Ariane, in the province of Languedoc, who lived in this period, and some of whose productions are published by Balusius in the fifth volume of his *Miscellanea*.’

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Such is the impartial testimony given by Dr. Mosheim, as to the practices, character, and faith of the Irish Church, from the sixth to the beginning of the ninth century; and such were our forefathers, learned, able, and faithful opposers of Roman corruptions, for centuries preceding the introduction of Romanism into Ireland.

CHAPTER III.

THE GREAT MULTITUDE OF BISHOPS IN IRELAND—ANIMOSITY TO THE CHURCH ON THE PART OF ROME—THE CHURCHES IN SCOTLAND AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND SUPPLIED WITH BISHOPS AND PRESBYTERS FROM THE IRISH CHURCH—THE DECREE OF THEODORE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY IN 670—THE FIFTH CANON OF THE COUNCIL OF CEALEHYTH—THE FORTY-SECOND CANON OF CHALONS—CONSTITUTIONS MADE BY SIMON ROCHFORD, BISHOP OF MEATH IN 1216—THE THIRD GENERAL COUNCIL OF KELLS IN 1152—THE RURAL SEES CONVERTED INTO RURAL DEANERIES—HEREDITARY SUCCESSION IN THE CHURCH, DENOUNCED BY ST. BERNARD—THE STRUGGLE IN THE SEE OF ARMAGH IN 1129—THE CLERGY OF IRELAND WERE MARRIED MEN TILL THE TWELFTH CENTURY—THE LITURGY OF THE IRISH CHURCH AGREED WITH THE GREEK AND DIFFERED FROM THE ROMAN—AURICULAR CONFESSION, AS WELL AS AUTHORITY ABSOLUTION, REJECTED BY THE IRISH CHURCH—NEITHER THE TENTHS NOR THE FIRST FRUITS GIVEN TO ROME—MARRIAGE A CIVIL RITE, BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF CASHIEL—NO PRAYERS MADE TO EITHER SAINTS OR ANGELS—TRANSUBSTANTIATION NOT HELD BY THE IRISH CHURCH—NO IMAGES OR STATUES IN THE CHURCHES—THE DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY, CONSECRATED CHRISM IN BAPTISM, THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS, AND INDULGENCES, UNKNOWN IN IRELAND—THE USE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES ENJOINED ON EVERY MAN—GILLEBERT'S WORK ON THE CANONICAL CUSTOM, &c.—HENRY II.'S LETTER TO POPE ADRIAN—THE SEVEN CHURCHES, AND ROUND TOWERS—THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION OF THE IRISH CHURCH—EXTRACT FROM O'DRISCOLL'S VIEWS OF IRELAND.

appears to be, the great multitude of bishops in Ireland, where they changed and multiplied them at pleasure. In like manner we read, that St. Basil in the fourth century, had fifty rural bishops in his diocese, and that there were five hundred sees in the six African provinces.

This rule of the Irish Church occasioned great animosity on the part of Rome. Anslem, Archbishop of Canterbury, complains bitterly, that ‘our bishops every where, were elected and consecrated without a title, and by *one* bishop, instead of three, which was according to the Roman plan.’ No objection can be made to the testimony of St. Bernard and Anselm, on this head, being Romans themselves; but the truth of it does not depend on their statements alone. For it appears that Virgil and *seven* Irish bishops, went forth on a mission together to Germany in the middle of the eighth century.

In the seventh century, the Irish bishops swarmed in Britain, as may be seen from Bede; in fact, the churches in Scotland and the north of England were regularly supplied with bishops and presbyters from the Irish Church, and this was become so general that there could not be found three Romish Bishops to consecrate Wilfred, all being of Irish consecration and natives of Ireland.*

* Wilfred, a man zealous for the Church of Rome, was chosen Archbishop of York, A.D. 664—‘but when nominated to this dignity, he stedfastly refused it at first,’ as William of Malmesbury saith, ‘lest he should receive his consecration from the Scottish (Irish) bishops, or those who had been ordained by the Scots, whose communion the Apostolic See had rejected, and afterwards, he requested to be sent over the sea to France where Catholic bishops might be had, so that no drop of the blood of British churchmen might by any possibility flow in his ecclesiastical veins.’ How can all this be reconciled with Dr. Rock’s broad statement in his second proposition—‘that from its very beginning, through all ages to the present

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Great multi-
tude of
Bishops.
See Greg.
Naz. Car. 2.
Bingham,
b. ix. c. 8.

Animosity
on the part
of Rome.

Usher’s
Syllog. p. 96.

Churches
supplied.

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7—12.

Decree of
Theodore.

The fifth
Canon of the
Council of
Cealehyth.

In 670, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury decreed, that ‘they who were consecrated by Irish or British Bishops, should be confirmed anew by a catholic one.’ The fifth canon of the council of Cealehyth, in section sixteen, requires ‘that none of Irish extraction, be permitted to usurp to himself the sacred ministry in any one’s diocese; nor let it be allowed such an one to touch any thing which belongs to those of the holy order, nor to receive any thing from them in baptism, or in the celebration of the mass: or that they administer the eucharist to the people, because we are not certain *how* or by *whom*, they were ordained. We know how it is enjoined in the canons, that no bishop, or presbyter invade the parish of another, without the bishop’s consent, so much the rather should we refuse to receive the sacred ministrations from other nations, where there is no such order as that of Metropolitans, nor any regard paid to other orders.’*

Here we can trace, by collecting, and comparing these facts, the steps taken by the ever-watchful jealousy of the Church of Rome, to supplant the Irish Church, which had taken so deep a root at this time in England, and which was extending its influence to so many different parts of Europe.

time, the Irish Church has been closely united with Rome, and while it has acknowledged, has also paid obedience to, the papal supremacy.’—p. 6.

* There were no Archbishops in the primitive Irish Church. The chief bishops of the five kingdoms were called Primates :—Armagh, the Primate of Ulster—Dublin, or rather Glandelough, the Primate of Leinster—Cashel, the Primate of Munster—Tuam, the Primate of Connaught—and Meath, the Primate of Meath. This accounts for the Bishop of Meath being called to this day ‘the Most Reverend.’ The hierarchy in the Irish Church, it is plain, therefore, was not formed on the Romish plan.

The fears of the Saxons were soon communicated to the continental clergy. The forty-second canon of Chalons, in section thirteen, forbids ‘certain Irishmen, who gave themselves out to be bishops, to ordain priests or deacons, without the consent of the ordinary.’ The same year the council of Aix-la-chapelle observes, ‘that in some places there were Irish who *called themselves Bishops*, and ordained many improper persons, without the consent of their lords, or of the magistrates.’ These alarms could only have been excited by the numbers, zeal, and perseverance, of the Irish Bishops, and the jealousy with which their exertions were regarded, as an independent Missionary Church.

There is a very curious and authentic record preserved in Wilkins’ Councils, which not only confirms what has been advanced with respect to the number of Irish Bishops, but also clearly explains the nature of their ancient episcopacy. “A.D. 1216, Constitutions made in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter and St. Paul’s of Newton, Athunry, by Simon Rochford, by the grace of God, Bishop of Meath. Cardinal Paparo, Legate of the Sovereign Pontiff, Eugenius III., having directed in the third General Council, held at Kells, in Meath, in the year 1152, among other salutary canons, ‘that on the death of a village bishop, or of bishops} who possessed small sees in Ireland, rural deans should be appointed by the diocesans to succeed them, who should superintend the clergy and laity in their respective districts, and that each of their sees should be erected into a rural deanery:—We in obedience to such regulations, do constitute and appoint, that in the Churches of Athunry, Kells, Slane, Skrine, and Dunshaughlin, being heretofore bishop’s sees in

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The forty-second Canon
of Chalons.

Simon Rochford, bishop
of Meath.

Third General Council of
Kells.

Rural Sees
converted
into Rural
Deaneries.

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7—12.

Meath, shall hereafter be the heads of rural deaneries, with arch-presbyters personally residing therein.*

We have there a clear and full development of the state of our ancient hierarchy, and a confirmation of what has been stated, namely, that Ireland was full of village bishops. MEATH could boast of Clonard, Duleek, Trim, Ardraccan, Dunshaughlin, Slane, Foure, Skrine, Mullingar, Loughseedy, Athunry, Ardmirchor, and Hallylonghort. DUBLIN, of Swords, Lusk, Finglas, Newcastle, Tawney, Leixlip, Bray, Wicklow, Arklow, Ballymore, Clondalkin, Tallagh, and O'Murphy. These were all formerly rural sees. The transmutations, however, which commenced with the introduction of Romanism in 1152, proceeded very slowly, for by Bishop Rochfort's constitutions, it appears, they were far from being completed in the thirteenth century.

If the number of rural deaneries, at their first erection, and afterwards, in consequence of Paparo's regulation, could be ascertained, it would give us the number of our rural sees. 'Our bishops, says Ledwich, might have amounted to above three hundred.' This peculiarity of our ecclesiastical polity strongly indicates our eastern, and consequently our Anti-Romish origin.

The next proof of the eastern origin of the Irish Church, and its opposition to Rome, is derived from the circumstance, that the original practice of hereditary suc-

* We might naturally suppose, that the framers of 'the Church Temporalities Bill,' had this canon of the council of Kells in their eye, when they concocted that ruinous measure. The objects of both appear to have been the same, the destruction of our national Church. The Popish canon indeed, seems to have been the lesser evil, as the temporalities of the church were left undiminished, and a provision made in it 'for the residence of arch-presbyters to superintend the clergy and laity in their respective districts.'

cession, was firmly established in the primitive Irish Church.

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7—12.

St. Bernard, in his life of Malachy, complains of this custom in the following words; ‘ a most pernicious custom had gained strength, by a diabolical ambition of some men in power, who possessed themselves of bishoprics by hereditary succession; nor did they suffer any to be put in election for them but such as were of their own tribe or family, and this kind of execrable succession made no small progress, for fifteen generations had passed over in this mischievous custom, and so far had this wicked and adulterous generation confirmed itself in this untoward privilege, that although it sometimes happened that clergymen of their family failed, yet bishops of it never failed; in fine, eight married men, and not in orders, though men of learning, were predecessors of Celsus in Armagh.’

Succession in
the Church
denounced.

Can we suppose for one moment, that the See of Rome, if her supremacy had been acknowledged, would not have come forward to oppose this lay usurpation under which the Church had so long groaned, and which must have been so detrimental to the interests of religion.

The first twenty-seven bishops of Ross-carbery, were of the family of St. Fachan, its first prelate. To this we may add, that Columba, founder of the celebrated Cul-dean Monastery at Iona, being of the Tyrconnelian blood, the abbots, his successors, were of the same race. Hereditary succession became a fixed municipal law, and prevailed in Church and State, and hence the struggle in the See of Armagh, to which Malachy O’Morgan, was appointed in 1129, to the exclusion of the old family; which had nearly proved fatal to him, and called forth the warm resentment of St. Bernard his friend. It further appears,

The struggle
in the See of
Armagh.

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7—12.

that after the consolidation of Glandelough with Dublin in 1152 and 1179, the original proprietors still retained the title and presentation until 1497. From this it seems evident, that our bishops and clergy were married men, till the introduction of Romanism in the twelfth century ; and to this St. Bernard alludes when he says, ‘ they were a wicked and adulterous generation.’

The liturgy
of the Irish
Church.

Again, the ancient liturgy of the Irish Church agreed with the Greek, and manifestly differed from the Roman, in the communion service, in the prophetical lessons, in the sermon and offices after it, and in various other particulars.*

* The *Cursus Scotorum* was of oriental origin, having been brought originally from Alexandria.—(Spelman’s Councils.) It is an extremely interesting fact, that the ancient Irish Church *had a Liturgy of her own*, which went by the name of the *Cursus Scotorum* ; and although no MS. now exists, under such a title, a discourse on Liturgies, published by Spelman, (vol. i. p. 167.) from a MS. now upwards of a thousand years old, happily enables us to ascertain its nature and contents. In this discourse, there occurs the following passage :—‘ St. Jerome affirms that St. Mark sung that liturgy, which is now called “ the Scottish : ” and after him Gregory Nazanenus (sic.) whom Jerome calls his master, as well as St. Basil, the brother of Gregory ; and afterwards St. Honoratus, who was the first abbot, and St. Cæsarius, who was the (first) bishop at Arles : and also St. Porcarius, who was abbot of the same monastery, sung this liturgy, (Cursum) who had St. Lupus and St. Germanus as monks in their monastery ; and these, in conformity with their (monastic) rule, sung this liturgy there, and having afterwards, from the reverence in which their sanctity was held, attained to the supreme dignity of the Episcopacy, these men educated and ordained St. Patrick, and consecrated him the bishop of their school in Ireland.’ Hence, it appears evident, that the *Cursus Scotorum* was, properly speaking, a *Gallican Liturgy* ; and Usher tells us, that the Gallican Liturgy was introduced into Britain by Germanus and Lupus ; and Lanigan informs us, ‘ that the Gallican Liturgy was introduced into Ireland during the second period of the Irish saints.’—(Sect. iv. p. 371.)

The Irish we are told by St. Bernard, in his life of Malachy, ‘rejected auricular confession, as well as authoritative absolution.’ They confessed to God alone, as believing “God alone could forgive sins.”* They would neither give to the Church of Rome the tenths, nor the first-fruits; nor would they be legitimately married; that is according to the forms insisted on by the Romish Church. Before the council of Cashel, convened by Henry II in 1172, marriage was regarded as a civil rite, and was performed by the magistracy; at that council the priests were authorized to perform the ceremony, and therefore we find the ancient Irish Christians denounced ‘as schismatics and heretics’ by St. Bernard; and as being in reality ‘Pagans, while calling themselves Christians.’

Such were the charges brought against the early Irish Christians, and such were some of the heresies which Adrian authorized Henry to root out of the land. But these were not all,—the early Irish Christians did not believe in the efficacy of prayers to saints and angels. They neither prayed *to* dead men, nor *for* them, nor was the service for the dead ever used by the Irish Church, till they were obliged to attend to it, by the council of Cashel, as may be seen, by a reference to the proceedings of that convention.

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7—12.

Auricular confession, as well as authoritative absolution rejected. Neither the tenths nor the first fruits given to Rome.

Marriage a civil rite.

No prayers made to either saints or angels.

Vide Canon 7.

* Alcuin, in his epistles, thus speaks of the Irish :—‘None of the laity are willing to make their confessions to Priests, whom we believe to have received from Christ (our) God, the power of binding and loosing as the Apostles did.’—(Epist. 26 or 71.) St. Bernard reports, that Malachi, who lived in the twelfth century, *instituted anew* (in the Irish church) the salutary practice of confession, the sacrament of confirmation, and matrimonial contracts, all of which *they knew not*, or neglected.—(In vita Malachi.)

CENTURY
7—12.

Transubstantiation not held by the Irish Church.

That the doctrine of transubstantiation was not held by the early Church of Ireland, is evident by the reception which it received, on its being first promulgated by several Irish divines. Among others by the justly celebrated Joannes Scotus Erigena, so highly esteemed at the court of Charles the Bald, for his learning and piety, and whose book was condemned by the Pope and the council of Versailles, as the only way they could confute it. Previous to this, the Irish received the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and they called it, "the communion of the body and blood of their Lord and Saviour." *

* Mr. Moore in his history of Ireland, endeavours to establish an identity between the religion of the ancient Irish and the modern Roman Catholics, because they called the eucharist, 'the mass, and the sacrifice of salvation.' Now, Mr. Moore knows as well as any man living, that the word mass was anciently used for prayer, and the communion, in the first prayer-book of our Edward VI, is still called *the mass*. The word sacrifice was also used in the same sense as we do sacrament, and the minister was said to give, as the people were said to receive, the sacrifice, meaning that which was set apart for holy uses. Adamnon, an early Irish writer, is said by Mr. Moore, to have used the expression, 'making the body of Christ.' Now, this Adamnon, after a visit to Britain in the time of Alfred, apostatized from the ancient Irish Church, and therefore affords no proof in this respect of the faith of that Church. The only two authorities quoted by Mr. Moore, in support of his assertion, that the doctrine of the real presence was held by the Irish, are Adamnon, (before mentioned) and Sedulius. The language attributed to Sedulius, no doubt was used in a spiritual sense ; to bring him forward on the Romish side, was one of the boldest stratagems ever practised : as Archbishop Usher quotes him as supporting the very opposite doctrine, and with what success any person may determine. In expounding the words of our Saviour "do this in remembrance of me," he useth this similitude—"He left a memorial of himself with us, even as if one who was going a far journey, should leave some token with one whom he loved ;" and he quotes Claudius, 'because

In their places of worship, they had no images, nor statues ; on the contrary, their use was not only expressly condemned, as we learn from Sedulius, one of their early divines, but mentioned also by others of them ‘as heathenish and idolatrous.’ So far were the early Irish Christians from believing in PURGATORY that until the period of Henry and Adrian’s usurpation, the word does not appear to have been known to the Irish writers. That a number of the ceremonies of the Romish Church, such as attending to canonical forms, singing in choirs, the use of the consecrated chrism in baptism, the sacrifice of the mass, and the dispensing of indulgences, were unknown, or at least unpractised in Ireland, until the period referred to, is matter of undoubted historical record ; the fact being alluded to by various Romish writers, who complain of the stubbornness and heretical feeling of the Irish on these points, and who have happily furnished the most undoubted testimony, as to the comparative purity of the Church they so fiercely endeavour to malign.*

CENTURY
7—12.

No images
or statues in
the churches.

The doctrine
of purgatory,
chrism in
baptism, sa-
crifice of the
mass, and
indulgences.

bread doth confirm the body, and wine doth make blood in the flesh, therefore one is mystically referred to the body of Christ, and the other to the blood.’—(Lord Lifford.)

* The following fragments of the Brehon law, translated by the Rev. T. O’Flanagan, from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, clearly proves that the ancient Irish Church did not receive the seven sacraments. The manuscript is a Commentary upon these laws, in question and answer, and contain the following remarkable passage,—

‘Q. What are the three fundamental ordinances, from which neither law, nor judgment, nor reason, nor philosophy, can absolve ?

‘A. *The holy communion*, as contained in the scriptures. *Tribute*, sanctioned by the three courses of the old law. *The regeneration of life by water*, whereby freedom from original sin is secured.

‘Will any one (says O’Flanagan) deny this to be the Protestant religion ? The ancient Irish mention but two sacraments as neces-

CENTURY
7—12.

Gillebert's
work on the
Canonical
customs.

Among others, who have unwittingly substantiated its claims, we may mention Gillebert, the Pope's legate, and Bishop of the Norman settlement of Limerick, who in the eleventh century wrote what he calls, 'the canonical custom of performing the offices of the whole ecclesiastical order.' In which he informs those for whom they were prepared, that it was 'to the end that those different and *schismatical* orders, by which almost all Ireland was deluded, might give place to one catholic and Roman office.'

Letter to
Pope Adrian.

The letter of Henry to Pope Adrian, is conclusive evidence on the subject. In that letter he alleged, 'that as the Irish were *schismatics* and *bad Christians*, it was necessary to reform them, and oblige them to own the papal authority, which *they had hitherto disregarded*; and that the most probable means was to bring them into subjection to the crown of England,' which he says 'had ever been devoted to the holy see.' And as the best evidence that can be adduced is that of an enemy, I may also mention that furnished by Bede, from whom we learn, that Pope Honorius, when using the strongest argument he could devise, in order to induce the Irish Church to submit to the Roman see, exhorted them 'not to esteem their own small number wiser than all the rest of the world;'—hereby admitting in the strongest possible way, their estrangement from, and entire disagreement with, the see of Rome.

Thus in the words of Archbishop Usher, 'the profession and practice of Christianity in the primitive Irish

sary, viz., "The holy communion, as contained in holy scripture, and regeneration unto life by water:" or in other words, "Baptism and the Lord's Supper."'(Apud Betham's *Antiquarian Researches*, vol. ii.)

Church, varied very little from that of the present established Church of England and Ireland. The use of the holy scriptures was recommended, and enjoined as every Christian man's duty. The doctrines of purgatory, and prayers for the dead, were not heard of till the twelfth century. The adoration of images was considered impious and abominable. Infants were baptized without the consecrated chrism, the omission of which is laid to the charge of the Irish by Archbishop Lanfranc. The celibacy of the clergy was unknown, which is proved by the fact, that Pope Innocent in the twelfth century, sent directions to his legate, to abolish the abuse prevailing in Ireland, 'of sons and grandsons succeeding their fathers and grandfathers in their ecclesiastical benefices.' The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in both kinds to the people. The mass was nothing more than the public service of the Church, and was so called even when prayers were only said, without the celebration of the communion. In proof of his statements, the Archbishop quotes the authority of many of the early writers, as St. Chrysostom, Sedulius, Claudius, Bede, Abbot Jonas, Probus, Adamnaunus, and Cogitosus, who all flourished between the fourth and twelfth century.

Dr. O'Halloran, an eminent Roman Catholic writer, entertained similar views of the former independence of the Church of Ireland, as will appear from the following extracts. 'Bishops were recommended on every vacancy, by the clergy and laity of the diocese to the king, who had a negative in the appointment. Bishops were appointed without consulting Rome. Bishops were multiplied at pleasure. They consecrated bishops for foreign missions, and those missions in many instances opposed the mandates of Rome, as Columba in Scotland, Finian

CENTURY
7—12.

The Holy
Scriptures
enjoined on
every man.

Independent

CENTURY
7—12.

and Coleman in England, Columbanus in France, St. Gall in Germany, &c.' 'For more than five centuries, after the death of St. Patrick, (says the same writer,) we scarce trace any vestiges of a correspondence between Rome and Ireland, and in this interval in many instances, we find that Rome looked upon several of our missionaries with a jealous eye; for although these great immunities of the Irish Church, were of the utmost consequence to the cause of Christianity, and contributed to spread its doctrines in a most rapid manner over all Europe, yet in the eleventh century, when paganism was totally abolished, these powers seemed too great, and were thought to endanger the peace of the Church. Councils and synods were therefore held from time to time, in order to bring the Church of Ireland to the same subordination to Rome, as those of every other part of Europe.' *

The seven
churches and
round
towers.

Before concluding this part of our subject, it may be well to notice the peculiarities of the seven churches, and the round towers existing so generally in Ireland, both striking manifestations of our own eastern origin. The Irish, it is evident entertained a singular veneration for the number seven. Witness the seven churches of Glendalough, Clonmacnois, Inniscatry, Inchferren, Inniskeatra, and the seven altars of Clonfert, and Holy Cross. In fact, the country is studded with their remains, which are generally found situated in islands.

This number seven, seems evidently to have been chosen in honour of him, from whose disciples they had received the gospel; and in an humble imitation, and

* And yet Dr. Rock asserts, 'that from its very beginning, through all ages to the present time, the Irish church has been closely united with Rome, and while it has acknowledged, has also paid obedience to, the papal supremacy.'—(p. 6.)

remembrance of the seven primitive Churches of the book of Revelations, to which this great apostle of the early saints in Ireland, addressed his seven epistles from the isle that is called Patmos. When we take all these separate facts into consideration, comparing the admission of enemies, and the testimony of friends, with the remains of antiquity, all proclaiming our eastern origin, we can clearly perceive the meaning of the memorable declaration of St. Coleman, at the council of Whitby :—‘ I marvel how some can call that absurd in which we follow the example of so great an apostle, one who was thought worthy of reposing upon the bosom of his Lord; and can it be believed that such men, as our venerable father Columbkil, and his successors, would have thought or acted things contrary to the precepts of the sacred pages.’ Again, ‘ this Easter which I used to observe, I received from my elders, who sent me bishop hither, which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated after the same manner.’ And again, ‘ It is the same, which the blessed evangelist St. John, the disciple especially beloved by our Lord, with all the Churches, that he did oversee, is read to have celebrated.’

CENTURY
6—12.

Here we may observe the apostolic succession of the Irish Church clearly pointed out. St. John the Evangelist; Ignatius, the immediate disciple of St. John; Polycarp, the disciple of Ignatius; Pothinus, Irenæus and others, the disciples of Polycarp, who preached the gospel with success in Gaul, through whose means flourishing Churches were established in Lyons and Vienne, of which Pothinus was the first bishop. From thence the gospel sounded forth throughout all that country. Bishops Lupus and Germanus, the descendants of these holy men, ordained St. Patrick, and made him chief bishop of

Apostolic
succession of
the Irish
church.

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6—12.

their school among the Irish, and from St. Patrick to the present day, we have our regular succession of bishops, not from Rome, nor through Rome, but through the successors of the apostle John, the patron of the Irish Church.

We shall now conclude this part of our subject, with a quotation from a Roman Catholic writer on the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland. ‘There is,’ says the writer in question, ‘something very singular in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. The Christian Church of that country, as founded by St. Patrick, and his predecessors, existed for many ages free and unshackled. “For above seven hundred years, this Church maintained its independence.” It had no connection with England, and differed upon points of importance with Rome. The first work of Henry II, was to reduce the Church of Ireland into obedience to the Roman pontiff. Accordingly he procured a council of the Irish clergy to be held at Cashel in 1172, and the combined influence and intrigues of Henry and the Pope prevailed. This council put an end to the ancient Church of Ireland, and submitted it to the yoke of Rome. “THAT OMINOUS APOSTACY has been followed by a series of calamities, hardly to be equalled in the world.” From the days of St. Patrick, to the council of Cashel, was a bright and glorious æra for Ireland. From the sitting of this council to our times, the lot of Ireland has been unmixed evil, and all her history a tale of woe.’ *

O’Driscoll’s
Views of
Ireland, vol.
ii. p. 85.

* It is curious enough, that Dr. Rock’s accidental omissions, should always fall on the most important parts of a passage. In the above quotation from O’Driscoll, the two vital parts of it are omitted altogether in his quotation of the passage: first, ‘for above seven hundred years, this church maintained its independence;’ and again, ‘*that ominous apostacy* has been followed by a series of calamities, hardly to be equalled in the world.’ It might however be too much to expect, that Dr. Rock should become the recording angel of *Apostolic truth*.

CHAPTER IV.

ST. COLUMBA AND THE IRISH CULDEES—THEIR OFFICE, THE GREEK, AND NOT THE ROMAN RITUAL—DISTINGUISHED FOR THEIR LEARNING, AND ATTACHMENT TO THEIR RELIGION—THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME CULDEE—COLUMBA—HIS CHARACTER, AND THAT OF HIS SUCCESSORS AS GIVEN BY BEDE—FOUNDED THE MONASTERY OF IONA—IN THE OBSERVATION OF EASTER, A QUARTADECEMAN—SCOTLAND AND THE GREATER PART OF ENGLAND EVANGELISED THROUGH HIM AND HIS SUCCESSORS' INSTRUMENTALITY—PERSECUTION FROM THE ROMISH CHURCH—OSWALD, KING OF NORTHUMBERLAND, CONVERTED TO THE FAITH OF CHRIST, WHILE IN IRELAND—PREACHING OF AIDEN, THE IRISH BISHOP, THE KING INTERPRETING—LINDISFARNE GIVEN FOR HIS EPISCOPAL SEE—AIDEN SUCCEEDED BY FINAN—FINAN SUCCEEDED BY COLEMAN—THE DISCUSSION AT WHITBY—COLEMAN RETURNS TO IRELAND, AND BUILDS A MONASTERY IN THE ISLAND OF INNISBOFFIN, AND ANOTHER AT MAGIO—THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ORDER OF THE CULDEES.

It is stated by O'Connor, that there existed in Ireland, nearly an hundred years before the mission of St. Patrick, independent of the See of Rome, an order of Monks called Culdees. Their rule was invented by St. Athanasius, a Greek father, and Bishop of Alexandria in Egypt. Their office was the Greek, and not the Roman, and even in their mode of tonsure, they differed from similar establishments in the Roman Church.

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St. Columba
and the Irish
Culdees.

Their office,
the Greek,
and not the
Roman
Ritual.

This order was in many things very remarkable, and

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one of its most eminent members, was our far-famed Columba, or Columbkil,* who is considered in the martyrology of Donegal, and by Colgan, as joint patron with St. Patrick, of Ireland, and whose name is as familiar to every Irish ear, as that of St. Patrick himself. It is indeed connected with some of the most venerated places in Ireland; for he founded, as Jocelyn says, one hundred monasteries, and established many churches.

Distin-
guished for
their learn-
ing, and at-
tachment to
their reli-
gion.

In such a remote corner of the world as Ireland was then considered, this celebrated monastic order commenced. Distinguished for letters, and an inviolable attachment to their religion; their adversaries (men devoted to the see of Rome) have endeavoured to consign their names and tenets to oblivion, while others of inferior merit are pompously brought forward, and extolled for virtues which they never possessed, and for actions which they never performed. Nor have those alone who collected memorials of the champions of divine truth recorded their merits, but the writings of Bede, Lloyd, Usher, and above all, those of Sir Robert Sibbald, and Sir James Dalrymple, have placed their reputation and noble defence of their doctrines and liberties on the most solid basis.

Origin of the
name Culdee.

The origin of their name, has given rise to various conjectures. Toland says it is derived from ‘Ceili de’ the separated or espoused of God. Bishop Nicholson, from ‘Coul-du’ a black hood, which, without authority, he supposes to have been a principal part of their dress:

* He is thus spoken of by a biographer of the sixteenth century, — ‘Towards the middle of the sixth century of redemption, in which Hibernia, the island of saints, shone with stars as numerous as the stars of heaven: there arose in the same island a new star which excelled all others, as the sun outshines the lesser stars of heaven—this star was Columbkille.’

whereas from a passage in Bede, it is probable their garments were white. Shaw's opinion is, that Ceil-de, or servant of God, was Latinized into Keledeus and Colideus, from whence we derive the English name Culdees. The great difficulty in accounting for the name, arises from not knowing the precise time when it was given: if it were at a late period, Nicholson may be right, but not so if at an early one, for sanctity was attached to dress only by the later monastic orders.

Columba, the founder, or rather the reviver of this order, was born of illustrious parents, A.D. 522.* The fashion of the times, and his own propensity, led him to the cultivation of ascetic virtues, and their preparatory exercises. Monachism had taken root in this kingdom, and was already flourishing in its numerous seminaries, and supported by their learned professors; the most remarkable of the former was that of St. Finian at Clonard, where at the age of twenty-five we find St. Columba engaged in study, and acquiring the rudiments of that knowledge, and exercising that discipline which were afterwards productive of such eminent advantages to christianity, not only in Ireland, but in Scotland and England.

Columba.

Having completed his monastic education in 546, he founded the monastery of Durrough, and established such admirable rules for his monks, that they soon became as

* Columba's father was Felim, the son of Fergus, who was grandson of the great Nial, King of Ireland; and the mother of Felim was Aithne, daughter of Lorn, who first reigned in conjunction with his brother Fergus, over the Scots, or Dalrendini, in Argyleshire. 'In those times, noblemen were not seldom the preachers of the gospel, and it is probable, *they may be so again*, when they shall find that neither their persons, nor their property can be secure without it.' —(Smith's Life of St. Columba.)

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His character, and that of his successors.

conspicuous for erudition, as for sanctity of manners. The Scots have claimed these monks as their own, and as springing up in their country, so early as the beginning of the fourth century, but Bishop Nicholson, no friend of the order, expressly says, ‘ the Culdees were of the Irish rule, and carried into Scotland by St. Columba, and from thence dispersed into the northern parts of England.’

Brilliant parts, and an untiring zeal in the service of religion, with a strain of powerful eloquence, exalted Columba’s reputation among his countrymen to a degree scarcely inferior to that of an apostle. Such talents were too large to be confined within the narrow pale of a monastic cell; they were called forth to the regulation of state affairs, and in these he held as decided a superiority as in the cloister. Amidst this splendour of authority and of parts, it would have been miraculous if human weakness did not sometimes betray him into error, from which his biographers do not attempt to exculpate him.

In his early youth, he instigated a bloody war without just cause, of which being made sensible, he abjured his native land by a voluntary exile, and imposed on himself a mission to the unconverted Picts. Of this event Bede thus speaks, ‘ In the year of our Lord’s incarnation 565, there came out of Ireland into Britain, a presbyter and abbot,—a monk in life and habits, very famous, by name Columba, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts. This Columba came to Britain, when King Bridius, son of Meilochem, reigned over the Picts. It was in the ninth year of his reign, that by his preaching and example he converted this nation to the faith of Christ.’

From this passage it appears evident, that Columba and his disciples have clearly the merit of promulgating

the gospel with effect in Scotland, notwithstanding the partial labours of earlier missionaries; by it also the date of the arrival of the Culdees is immoveably fixed. In consequence of Columba's preaching, his example, and success, the isle of Hy* was given to him, whereon to construct a monastery. This isle is one of the Hebrides, not large, 'but sufficient' says Bede, 'for the maintenance of five families, according to the computation of the English.'

'Before Columba came into Britain,' continues Bede, 'he formed a noble monastery in Ireland, called Dearthach,†

* The ancient name was I Hy or Aoi, (as written in the annals of Ulster,) which was latinized into Hyona or Iona, the common name of which is now I-colum-kill (the isle of Colum of the cells) included in one of the parishes of the island of Mull. Its venerable ruins still command respect, and the popular belief, founded upon a prophetic distich ascribed to St. Columba, is, that they may yet recover their ancient splendour,—

O sacred dome and my beloved abode,
Whose walls now echo to the praise of God;
The time shall come, when lauding monks shall cease,
And lowing herds here occupy their place;
But better ages shall hereafter come,
And praise re-echo in the sacred dome.

The first part of the prophecy was literally fulfilled for ages, till the present noble proprietor, the duke of Argyle, caused the sacred ground to be enclosed with a sufficient wall. Before that, the cathedral was used sometimes as a pen for cattle,—'Sic transit gloria mundi.'—'We were now,' says Dr. Johnson, 'treading that illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge, and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotions, would be impossible, if it were attempted, and would be foolish if it were possible.'

† The Dearthach mentioned by Bede, Camden, and Walsh, is supposed to be Armagh, but improperly. The word is Doirmagh, commonly called Durrough, and which Bede and Adamnan rightly interpret *the Oakenfield*.

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Founded the
monastery of
Iona.

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from which and Iona, many others have been established by his disciples in Britain and Ireland; over all these the Island Abbey, where he lies interred, has supreme rule. It is always wont to have a presbyter-abbot for its rector, and even the bishops themselves, after an unusual and inverted order, ought to be subject, according to the example of that first doctor, who was no bishop, but a presbyter and monk.*

In the observation of Easter, a quarda-deceman.

In the observation of Easter, Columba was a quarda-deceman.† He left it in charge to the monks of Iona, to

* Columba received the order of Priesthood from Etchin, Bishop of Clonfadin. The story is curious enough—‘By the consent of the ecclesiastics of his neighbourhood, he was sent to Etchin, bishop of a neighbouring diocese, to be made a bishop. When he arrived, the bishop was, (according to the usage of this early period,) engaged in ploughing his field. Columbkille was kindly received, and stated that he came for ordination. But it did not occur to him to specify the orders he came for. The bishop knowing that he had only received deacon’s orders, very naturally pursued the common course, and gave him priest’s orders. When this oversight became known, he offered to consecrate him a bishop, but Columba, who looked on the circumstance as a manifestation of the will of God, declined this further step.’ The story derives some confirmation from the circumstance that he never became a bishop, though occupying the station and authority of one in an eminent degree.

It appears from Bede, that the monastery of Iona had bishops among the members of that community, who were as such, subject to the Abbot who was a Presbyter; (as the chapter of St. Patrick’s, Dublin, has an Archbishop at the present moment a member of its body, who as such, is subject to the Dean, who is a Presbyter.) Hence the Anti-episcopalians deduce the logical conclusion, that he, (the Archbishop) is no better than a Presbyter.

† ‘The Christians in the second century,’ says Mosheim, ‘celebrated anniversary festivals in commemoration of the death and resurrection of Christ, and of the effusion of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles.’ The day which was observed as the anniversary of Christ’s death, was called the Paschal day, or Passover, because it

keep it on the 14th to the 20th of the moon, which they continued to do, until the year 716. This eminent missionary, worn out in the service of his divine master, died

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was looked upon to be the same with that on which the Jews celebrated the feast of that name.

In the manner, however, of observing this solemn day, the christians of lesser Asia differed much from the rest, and in a most especial manner from those of Rome. They both indeed fasted during the great week, (so that was called in which Christ died) and afterwards celebrated like the Jews, a sacred feast, at which they distributed a paschal lamb, in memory of our Saviour's last supper. But the Asiatic christians kept the feast on the fourteenth day of the first Jewish month, at the time that the Jews celebrated their passover, and three days after commemorated the resurrection of the triumphant Redeemer. They affirmed that they had this custom from the apostles John and Philip, and pleaded moreover in its behalf the example of Christ himself, who held his paschal feast on the same day that the Jews celebrated their passover. The western churches observed a different method. They celebrated their paschal feast on the night that preceded the anniversary of Christ's resurrection, and thus connected the commemoration of the Saviour's crucifixion, with that of his victory over death and the grave. Nor did they differ thus from the Asiatics, without alleging also Apostolic authority for what they did, for they pleaded that of St. Peter and St. Paul, as a justification of their conduct in this matter. Hence arose sharp and vehement contentions between the eastern and the western churches.

About the middle of this century (the second) during the reign of Antoninus Pius, the venerable Polycarp came to Rome to confer with Anicet, bishop of that See, upon this matter, with a view to terminate the warm disputes it had occasioned. But this conference, though conducted with great decency and moderation, was without effect. Polycarp and Anicet were only agreed in this, that the bonds of charity were not to be broken on account of the controversy; but they continued at the same time, each in their former sentiments; nor could the Asiatics be engaged by any arguments to alter the rule which they asserted they had received by tradition from St. John.

Towards the conclusion of this century, Victor, bishop of Rome,

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at Iona, A.D. 597, aged seventy-five years. To distinguish him from others of the same name, he was called Colum-celle, from having been the father of above one hundred monasteries.*

determined to try and force the Asiatic Christians (by the pretended authority of his laws and decrees) to follow the rule, which was observed by the western churches in this matter. Accordingly, after having taken the advice of some foreign bishops, he wrote an imperious letter to the Asiatic prelates, COMMANDING them to imitate the example of the western christians, with respect to the time of celebrating the festival of Easter.

The Asiatics answered this lordly summons by the pen of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who declared in their name, and that with great spirit and resolution, that they would by no means depart in this matter from the custom handed down to them by their ancestors. Upon this, the thunder of excommunication began to roar. Victor, exasperated by the resolute answer of the Asiatic bishops, broke off all communication with them, pronounced them unworthy of the name of brethren, and excluded them from all fellowship with the church of Rome.

This excommunication could indeed extend no further, nor could it cut off the Asiatic bishops from communion with the other churches whose bishops were far from approving the conduct of Victor. The progress of this violent dissension was, however, stopped by the wise and moderate remonstrance, which Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, addressed on this occasion to the Roman Prelate, in which he shewed him the imprudence and injustice of the step he had taken ; the folly of which was also fully set forth in a letter, which the Asiatic christians wrote in their own justification. In consequence, therefore, of these remonstrances a cessation of arms took place, although the combatants retained each their own customs. In the fourth century, the Council of Nice abolished that of the Asiatics, and appointed the time of the celebration of Easter to be the same through all christian churches. Quartadecemans were those who followed the eastern custom, and consequently opposed the western or roman mode.

* The change of name is referred by one of his biographers to accident, and may well have occurred as related, from the religious

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Bede, though sincerely attached to the see of Rome, yet with candour and truth confesses the merits of the Culdees. 'Whatever he was himself (speaking of Columba) we know of him for certain, that he left a succession renowned for much continence, the love of God, a regular observance. It is true, they followed uncertain rules in the observation of the great festival, as having none to bring them the synodal decrees for the keeping of Easter, by reason of their being seated so far from the rest of the world, therefore only practising such works of charity and piety, as they could learn from THE PROPHETICAL, EVANGELICAL, AND APOSTOLIC WRITINGS.'

Scotland and the greater part of England evangelised.

Their warmest panegyrist could not pronounce a finer eulogium on the purity of their faith and integrity of their practice. It is true, they did not adopt the corruptions of the Romish Church, nor the superstitions which had corrupted Christianity. For centuries they preserved their countrymen from the baneful contagion, and at length fell a sacrifice in defence of their ancient faith.

No sooner had the papal power got footing in England, than it made attempts on the Irish Church, which had so successfully established itself in that kingdom; but the vigorous opposition of the Culdees delayed for some time, though it could not finally prevent, its establishment. 'It was not a doubtful ray of science and superstition,' (as the elegant, though infidel historian of the Roman empire

Persecution from the Romish Church.

feeling which seemed to refer every slight occurrence at that period to special design. His exceeding meekness attracted the attention of the children of the neighbourhood, who were accustomed to see him coming forth to meet them at the gate of the monastery in which he received his education, and by a fanciful adaptation, common enough to lively children, they called him 'THE PIGEON OF THE CHURCH,' which in Irish is 'COLUMNA-CILLE.'

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Oswald, king
of Northum-
berland, con-
verted to the
faith.

remarks,) ‘that these monks diffused over the northern regions; superstition on the contrary found them her most determined foes.’

In 635, Oswald, king of Northumberland, who had been converted to the faith of Christ, among the Irish, and was no admirer of Roman innovations, sent to Iona for a Culdee bishop, to instruct his people in evangelical truth. In consequence of which, Aiden, an Irishman, and a Culdee of Iona, was consecrated, and sent over to him.

‘He was a man,’ says Bede, ‘of the greatest modesty, piety, and moderation; his life was so widely different from the sloth and negligence of our own times, that all who travelled with him, whether shorn or laymen, were obliged to exercise themselves, either in reading the scriptures, or in learning the Psalms.’ There was however one abatement of his merit, which could not be passed over by a votary of Rome, though it is conveyed in no rancorous, or intolerant language. ‘He had a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge, *for he kept the Lord’s day of Easter, according to the custom of his country.*’

Lindisfarne
given for his
Episcopal
See.

‘The king,’ continues Bede, ‘gave the bishop the Isle of Lindisfarne, on the coast of Northumberland, for his episcopal see. York was fixed upon by Pope Gregory before this time, but this nomination Aiden rejected, for two reasons, first it was not agreeable to the spirit of Culdeeism, which chose islands in preference to the main land, in imitation of their master, Columba; and secondly, he considered it would be an acquiescence in the decision of the Roman pontiff, which the Irish hierarchy, complete and independent in itself, had not submitted to.

Oswald personally attended Aiden’s ministry. When

the latter preached, he not perfectly understanding the Anglo-saxon tongue, the king was his interpreter; * for during his exile in Ireland, he had learned the language of the isle. Numbers of Culdees daily arrived from Ireland; those who were priests baptized the converted. Aiden gave a luminous example of charity, piety, and abstinence, and recommended his doctrine by his practice.'

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Preaching of
Aiden, the
King inter-
preting.

Thus far we have followed Bede, whose third book of ecclesiastical history, is principally employed in praise of the Culdees; wherever he mentions their dissent from Rome, (and this was their only crime), he does it with great delicacy.

Aiden died in 651, and was succeeded by Finan, an Irishman, and Culdee of Iona. He was according to Bede, 'a man of fierce and rough nature, but was very successful in his ministerial labours, and not only converted and baptized Peada, king of the Middle Angles, along with all his court, but sent four priests to instruct his subjects in Christianity. Sigbert, king of the East Angles, was also baptized by him, as well as his people, and he sent for two other bishops to assist him in the ministry of ordination, and consecrated Cedda, or Chad,

Aiden suc-
ceeded by
Finan.

* Fuller mentions this circumstance in his usual quaint manner.

THE ROYAL INTERPRETER.

'When Aiden came first into England, he was not perfect in the language of our country; wherefore, King Oswald, a better Irishman (as bred among them) than Aiden was an Englishman, interpreted to the people what the other preached unto them. Thus, these two put together, made a perfect preacher; and although some may say, sermons thus at a second hand, must lose much of their life and lustre, yet the same spirit working in both, the ordinance proved effectual to the salvation of many souls.'—(Fuller, vol. i. p. 122.)

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bishop of the East Angles. *To the apostolic labours of the Culdee missionaries, were the Northern English indebted for their conversion*; and Dr. Innet in his learned ‘*Origines Anglicanæ*’ records their exertions in highly honourable terms.*

* The Romanists boast of the great success of Austin, in converting the pagan Saxons to Christianity; but the principal merit of their conversion is due to the zealous labours of Irish missionaries. In justice to them Archbishop Usher observes, (*Ann. Reg. of the Irish*, p. 112.) ‘*St. Aiden and St. Finan, deserve to be honoured by the English nation, with as venerable a remembrance as Austin the monk and his followers; for by the ministry of Aiden was the kingdom of Northumberland recovered from Paganism; (whereunto belonged then, beside the shire of Northumberland and the lands beyond it, unto Edinburgh, Firth, Cumberland also, and Westmoreland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the bishopric of Durham,) and by the means of Finan, not only was the kingdom of east Saxons (which contained Essex, Middlesex, and half of Hertfordshire) regained, but also the large kingdom of Mercia, which comprehended under it, Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, and the other half of Herefordshire.*

‘*Aiden himself was a shining example of godliness. He laboured continually to convert infidels, and to strengthen the faithful. He gave to the poor whatever presents he received from the great, and employed himself with his associates in the scriptures continually. He strictly avoided every thing luxurious, and every appearance of secular avarice or ambition. He redeemed captives with the money which was given him by the rich. He instructed them afterwards and fitted them for the ministry.*

‘*King Oswald was not inferior to the prelate in his endeavours to promote godliness. Uncorrupt and humble in the midst of prosperity, he shewed himself the benefactor of the poor and needy, and cheerfully encouraged every attempt to spread the knowledge and practice of godliness among men. At length in the 38th year of his age, he was slain in the battle by Perda, king of Mercia. A*

Finan died, A.D. 661, and Coleman, a Culdee of Iona, succeeded him. He was an intrepid opposer of papal doctrines, as his disputation at Whitby with the Romanists fully proves. King Oswy, however, who presided at this conference at Whitby, had been too much tampered with by the Romish party, to be a fair arbitrator.

At this council, there were present two kings, three English, and several Irish bishops, with an Abbot, Abbess, and many presbyters and other clerks, Romans, Angles, Saxons, Britons, Scots, and Picts. The early bishops of Lindisfarne having been Irish, the Northumbrians observed Easter according to the Irish tradition, but Lanfrid their queen, a Kentish Princess, after the Roman: 'whence (says Bede) it sometimes happened that *two Easters* were celebrated in one year; and when the king, having completed his lenten fast, was celebrating his Easter Sunday, the queen, still fasting, was spending Palm Sunday.'

This difference respecting the celebration of Easter, was however borne patiently by all during the life-time of Aiden; 'because they saw clearly, that although he could not act contrary to the custom of those who sent him, he took care diligently to perform works of faith, piety and brotherly love, according to the custom of all the saints.' After his death a violent controversy arose respecting Easter, the ecclesiastical tonsure, and other points in which the Irish differed from the Saxons, and which this conference of Whitby was intended to decide.

In this synod, Wilfred, Abbot of Ripon and afterwards

memorable instance of the unsearchable ways of Providence. He and Edwin, two kings, whose equals in piety and virtue could not easily be equalled in any age, both lose their lives in battle with the same enemy—a barbarian and a pagan !'

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Finan succeeded by
Coleman.

Discussion
at Whitby.

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Archbishop of York, pleaded in favour of the Roman Easter, while Coleman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, being an Irish Scot, maintained the opposite side. According to Bede, king Oswy opened the conference by a speech in which he pointed out the necessity of unity; after which Coleman said, 'The Easter which I celebrate I have received from my ancestors, and it is the same as that which St. John, the Evangelist, observed, with all the Churches over which he presided.*' In reply to this, Wilfred asserted that, 'the Roman Easter was observed throughout the whole world, with the single exception of the Irish, and the companions of their obstinacy, the Picts and Britons, who living in the remotest islands of the ocean, foolishly contested the point against the whole world.' Speaking of Columba and other Irish saints, he says, 'their observing Easter in this manner was of no importance, so long as no one came to instruct them in the correct method of keeping it. And even admitting your Columba to be a holy man, ought he to be preferred to the most holy prince of the apostles, to whom the Lord said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Upon which king Oswy asked Coleman, whether these words had really been addressed to Peter, and on his admitting that they were, instantly decided in favour of the Roman Easter; 'For,' (said he) 'St. Peter is a door-keeper, whom I am unwilling to contradict, but as far as my know-

* It is singular as well as confirmatory, of what has been above stated, that we have Polycarp and Irenæus, according to Eusebius—Polycrates according to Socrates—as well as Coleman, holding the same arguments as to the source and authority from whence they had the time of keeping Easter.

ledge and ability extends, I desire to obey his commands in all respects, lest when I arrive at the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there shall be no one to open them for me, he being my enemy, who is proved to have the keys.'

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Coleman, when he found his opinions rejected, resigned his see, rather than submit to this decision; thus furnishing us with a remarkable proof, that the Irish bishops in the seventh century rejected the authority of the Pope. He collected all the Irish Culdees at Lindisfarn, and about thirty English monks, who were studying there, with whom he resorted for a short time to Iona, and at last sailed for Ireland, where he spent the remaining part of his life in the island of the White Cow, called in Irish Inis-bo-fin. 'He was a man,' (says Harpsfield,) 'of great virtue, abstinence, and piety.' He also founded a monastery, which at that time was called Magio, but now Mayo. The cause of building which is thus given by the venerable Bede.

Coleman re-
turns to
Ireland.

'Coleman coming into the said island,' (i.e. Inis-bo-fin,) 'founded a monastery there, and placed monks in it, whom he had collected from both nations; but they could not agree together; because the Irish in the summer season, when the fruits of the earth were to be gathered, forsook the monastery, and dispersed themselves up and down in such places, where they were well acquainted; but on the approach of winter, they would return and expect to enjoy in common, those things, which the English monks had provided for themselves.

Monastery of
Inis-bo-fin.

'Coleman made it his business to find out a remedy for these disorders, and travelling about the country, far and near, he at last pitched on a place in the island of Ireland, proper for a monastery, which in the Irish language was called Magio, of which he purchased a small part for the

Monastery of
Magio.

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said purpose from an Earl, whose property it was, on condition, nevertheless, that the resident monks should be obliged to offer up their prayers to the Lord for him, who accommodated them with the place. Immediately, by the assistance of this Earl, and his neighbours, he erected a monastery, in which he placed the English monks, and following the example of their venerated fathers, they lived under a canonical rule and Abbot, in great continence and integrity, supporting themselves by the labour of their hands.*

The decline
and fall of
the Culdees.

Immediately on the departure of Coleman, the Culdees were everywhere expelled from England by Oswy, and replaced by Benedictines. Not content with this triumph, the Romish clergy prevailed on Egfrid, King of Northumberland, to wreak their vengeance a few years after, on the diffident Irish. ‘An harmless and innocent people, (says Bede, pitying their calamities) and always friendly to the English.’ At length Adamnan the Culdean Abbot of Iona, apostatized; and by the instigations of Ceolfred, Abbot of Yirwy, Naitan, King of the Picts expelled the Culdees from Iona in 717.†

* It is a very remarkable coincidence, that after a period of nearly twelve centuries, a similar institution should have been established in the neighbouring Island of Achill, under the immediate auspices and superintendence of the late Archbishop of Tuam, by which means, we may hope, the light of divine truth, through God’s blessing, may again be disseminated in that hitherto dark and deplorably neglected region.

† Notwithstanding what is here stated, Dr. Lanigan, a distinguished Roman Catholic historian asserts, that ‘the great monastery of Hy was still kept up, and considered as an Irish establishment so late as the year 1203,’ he proves this from a remarkable transaction that occurred in that year.

One Kellach erected a monastery in Hy in opposition to the elders

Thus expired those illustrious seminaries of Culdees at Iona and Lindisfarn, after bravely defending their tenets for more than a century, against the secret machinations and open violence of their enemies. At length they fell a sacrifice to the encroaching ambition and spiritual intolerance of the Church of Rome. 'A great access,' says Cressy, in a high tone of exultation, 'was made to the lustre of this year, by the conversion of the Monks of Hy, and all the monasteries and churches subject to them, to the unity of the Catholic Church.'

'The monasteries of Columba were the bright constellations of our hemisphere, enlightening every part with the brilliant radiance of the gospel and of true learning.' Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, says 'Innet set up schools in every place to outdo the Irish, and break the interests of the quartadecemans,' (for so the Culdees were called.) The Culdees continued, as an excellent writer

of the place, upon which the clergy of the north of Ireland held a meeting, which was attended by Florence O'Kervallen, bishop of Tyrone, the bishop of Tirconnet, the abbot of St. Peter and Paul, Armagh, the abbot of Derry, and many others. Afterwards they all went to Iona, demolished the monastery which had been built by Kellach, and placed over it the Abbot of Derry, who was unanimously elected Abbot. What was Kellach's object in erecting a new monastery? 'I cannot ascertain,' says the wily priest; 'perhaps,' he continues, 'his intention was to introduce a new order into the island; perhaps the Cistercians, or Augustine Canons, for both of which there was a great predilection in Ireland.'

From this it would appear that the monastery of Iona had reassumed its ancient customs, &c., and that this was a second attempt made by the Romish party, through the means of Kellach, to introduce their peculiar customs; but we find it checked by the Irish clergy in the bud, who continued to follow their own ecclesiastical rules, without the pale, as if the synod of Cashel had never been held.

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observes, until a new race of monks arose, as inferior to them in learning and piety, as they surpassed them in wealth and ceremonies, by which they captivated the eyes, and infatuated the minds of men.*

The registry of St. Andrews informs us, that the Culdees, relaxing in discipline, were deprived of their possessions, but King Alexander restored them on condition that they should be more attentive in attending divine service, which they neglected, except when the King or bishop was present, performing however *their own office in their own way*, in a small corner of the church. This account is obscure, merely because the whole truth is not stated, for the registry acquaints us, that when Alexander began the reform in the Church of St. Andrew, there was no one to serve at the altar of the blessed Apostle St. Andrew, or to *celebrate mass*. This clearly shews, that the Culdees, who were settled there, paid no respect to these holy relics, or to *the mass itself*, but chose rather to forfeit their church and property than desert their principles, preferring their ancient office with integrity of heart, *in a corner*, to the possession of the choir and its superstitious pageantry. Their office was Gallican, and very different from the Roman; and consequently we may conclude that it was not *the mass* they celebrated, (which

* It would be doing injustice to the subject, and leaving this outline of history imperfect, to omit some practices of the Culdees, which deserve notice. They, as well as the British monks, supported themselves by the labour of their hands. In this they resembled their archetypes of the east. The Culdees were married, but when it came to their turn to officiate, they did not cohabit with their wives. In 950 the Priests of Northumberland published canons, one of which was 'If a priest dismiss *one* wife, and take another, let him be anathema.' The Culdees of St. Andrew's were married men till the year 1100.

Pope Gregory confesses was the work of a private person, and not of apostolic authority) for the Culdees only followed, as appears from Bede, what they could learn *from the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolic writings.* The Anglo-Saxons adopted the Roman office; but the Britons and Irish retained their primitive forms.

The conduct of the Romanists towards the Culdees was uniformly persecuting. A charter of David, King of Scotland, recites ‘that he had given to the canons of St. Andrew, the isle of Lochleven, to institute there *the canonical rule*, (or in other words, the Romish ritual) and that the Culdees, its ancient possessors, might continue there, if they would conform to that rule, and live peaceably, and in subjection to the canons; but that if they rejected these terms, they were to be expelled.’ This proposal being incompatible with their principles, was not acceded to, and consequently they were ejected.

In Ireland the Culdees made a noble stand against papal innovations, and all the power of Rome, assisted by the power of England, was unable to eradicate them; for we learn from Archbishop Usher, even in his time, that ‘in the greater churches in Ulster, as at Cluaninnis and Daminais, and particularly at Armagh, in our memory, were Presbyters called Culdees, who celebrated divine service in the choir, their president being styled Prior of the Culdees, who acted as precentor.’

It was not easy indeed to eradicate a reverence founded on solid piety, exemplary charity, and superior learning; or to commit sudden violence on persons in whom such qualities were found. The Romish clergy were therefore obliged to exert their utmost cunning to accomplish their designs, and where force could not, seduction often prevailed. The alternative of expulsion, or acquiescence,

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must ever strongly operate on human infirmity. In a few instances, the latter was chosen; thus about the year 1127, Gregory, Abbot of the Culdees' monastery of Dunkeld, and Andrew his successor, were made bishops, the first of Dunkeld, the other of Caithness. The intelligent antiquary Dalrymple, confirms the wary manner in which the Culdees were treated; by making their abbots bishops, and preserving to those who had parishes, their benefices during life.

Dalrymple,
p. 246.

The same policy was followed in Ireland; the president of the Culdees was made precentor, he was to have the most honourable seat at table, and every respect from the chapter. Such little distinctions, whilst they flattered and saved appearances, were fatal to the Culdees. Many breaches were made in their rights, and at last, they lost all their privileges, and their old institute, and retained barely the name of their pristine celebrity. Such as they were in later ages, they continued to exist, and so late even as 1625. They had considerable property in Armagh, namely, seven townlands, with smaller parcels; a great number of rectories, vicarages, tythes, messuages, and houses. These parishes and property have been transferred to Trinity College, Dublin, an institution established for similar purposes to those of the original Culdee seminaries; and among others, TO PRESENT A DETERMINED FRONT AGAINST POPISH NOVELTIES AND INNOVATIONS.

CHAPTER V.

THE FOREIGN MISSIONARIES OF THE IRISH CHURCH—FRIDOLIN, CALLED THE TRAVELLER, FOUNDER OF THE MISSIONARY STATION AT SEKINGEN ON THE UPPER RHINE—COLUMBANUS, A MISSIONARY IN FRANCE, GERMANY, AND ITALY—GALLUS, THE APOSTLE OF SWITZERLAND—THE TOWN AND CANTON OF ST. GALL, DERIVES ITS POLITICAL EXISTENCE FROM THIS MISSIONARY—KILLIAN, THE APOSTLE OF FRANCONIA—HIS MISSIONARY STATION, WURZBURG—VIRGILIUS, BISHOP OF SALZBURG—HIS THREATENED PERSECUTION BY THE ROMISH ARCHBISHOP OF MAYENCE FOR HOLDING THE OPINION THAT THE WORLD WAS ROUND—TWO ANONYMOUS MISSIONARIES—JOANUS SCOTUS ERIGENA—HIS FAVOURABLE RECEPTION BY THE KING OF FRANCE—HIS NOBLE STAND AGAINST THE NOVEL DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION—HIS WORK ON THE SUBJECT COMMITTED TO THE FLAMES—DUNGAL, THE PHILOSOPHER AND ASTRONOMER.

WHILE Aiden, Finan, Cedda, Fursa, Coleman, &c., were labouring in their vocation and calling in England, their brethren on the continent of Europe were as zealously employed in preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ to the inhabitants of those extensive regions.

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Foreign missionaries of
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FRIDOLIN, CALLED THE TRAVELLER.

A young Irishman was the honoured instrument in God's hands, of bringing the first message of salvation to the Alemanni of the upper Rhine. Fridolin, who had

Fridolin.

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been educated at a monastery in his own country, had formed the resolution of devoting his whole life to the missionary cause. He first travelled about Ireland, from village to village, preaching the gospel. Soon afterwards he went over to France, and rested some time in a monastery, founded by Hilary at Poitiers; but having been disquieted by a dream, in which he was directed to go, and seek out a certain island in the Rhine, within the territory of the Alemanni, and preach to the savage inhabitants of the Black Forest, he obtained a letter of protection from Clovis, and taking it with him, he set out for the country of the upper Rhine, and every where on his way, tarried long enough to scatter the good seed, on the right hand and on the left.

On his arrival among the Nauraci, where the ancient city of Augusta (August) still lay in the ruined state, in which Attila's march had reduced it, he found a little farther on, the Island he was seeking, where the small town of Sekingen (between Basle and Schaffhausen) now stands. He took up his abode in this wild place, and commenced the business of his Mission. The daughter of an Alemann of rank, who lived in the neighbourhood, whose name was Wachter, was Fridolin's earliest disciple from the Alemann nation. This lady he instructed and baptized, and as he had been presented with the whole island by Clovis, he built a monastery there, according to the custom of his nation, into which pious monks from Burgundy were gradually collected, who helped him to lay the first foundation for building up Christ's church in the German provinces. After having undertaken another Mission in the country of the Glarni, he returned to his island in the Rhine, where he died in the year 538. Such is his history, as it has reached us; but if no other memorial of

his Missionary labours had been preserved, than the monastery of Sekingen, it would be no more strange, than our often reading of Christianity anciently planted, where we are not told who were the instruments employed by God for that purpose.'

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COLUMBANUS AND HIS COMPANIONS.

Fifty years after the Mission of Fridolin, additional light was sent to the Alemanni, through the instrumentality of Columbanus, and his twelve companions in travel. Columbanus* was a descendant of a noble family in the province of Leinster, he was educated in the monasteries of Iona and Bangor in Ulster, and was urged by an irresistible desire to carry forth the name of the Lord, into the wide world of paganism.

Columbanus
and his com-
panions.

In the year 590, hearing that the state of Christianity in France, had fallen into the most melancholy deprivation, he instantly passed over to Gaul, where there was at this period, an ample field for the exertions of devoted men. Columbanus, after preaching for a considerable time through the country, found at last a spot adapted to the retirement of his taste, and the sanctity of his purpose, in the gloomy and sequestered forests of Upper Burgundy, in the neighbourhood of the Alps. Here in this savage region, he had twelve cabins built for himself, and his companions, most of whom, perhaps, indeed all, were afterwards to be Missionaries in other realms.

The fame of his eloquence and learning soon drew the

* It was usually the custom in the early days of the church, to give new names to the distinguished servants of Christ, according to their supposed or inherent virtues. Thus Columba, the Dove, and afterwards 'Columna-cille,' which in Irish is 'the Dove of the church;' and again, 'Columbanus,' the wild pigeon, or woodquest.

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inhabitants in vast crowds around him from every quarter. Settlements arose in the vicinity, and the saint was soon enabled to erect a monastery at Luxeuil. Here he remained above twenty years. Among the number of his disciples were many of noble birth, and many possessed ample revenues, and great influence, and not a few of them devoted themselves to the service of their divine master.

Another monastery was built in a more select situation, and from the springs with which it abounded, received the name of 'Fountains.' At length, however, his faithful reprehension of the evil lives of Theodoric, King of Burgundy, and his grandmother Brunecild, made those powerful personages his bitter enemies, and he was forced to quit his retirement. Columbanus now engaged in an active course of missionary exertions, visiting many places in France, and after a variety of circuitous wanderings, arrived with his companions on the banks of the Rhine. He went up the river as far as Limmat, in Switzerland, and from thence reached Zurich, which was then a small castle. Finding no Pagans there, he travelled with his companions up as far as Tuggen, the most distant part of the lake of Zurich, where he found a people still sunk in heathen superstition.

Columbanus, with his zealous disciple Gallus, remained a short time among these people, and endeavoured to make them acquainted with the living God, and his Son Jesus Christ, but they answered, "our ancient Gods have hitherto sent to us, and to our forefathers' rain and sunshine: we will not forsake them, they govern well." Hereupon they brought an offering to their Idols in the presence of the missionaries, who, in their zeal against such a contempt of the word of God, threw their Idols into the

lake, and set fire to their temple. The idolaters, enraged at this very improper display of zeal, treated them roughly, and banished them from the country.

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Columbanus, with his companions, now descended from the mountainous regions, into the extensive plain, near the upper lake of Constance, and went to the ancient castle of Arbon, where a pious priest, named Willimar, received them kindly and lodged them : thence travelling farther up to Bregeuz, they resolved to settle there. At this period all the neighbourhood still lay desolate, from the effects of Attila's march, and only a few traces of the ancient Christian settlement were found.

Within the walls of a ruinous Christian church, which had been used by the Pagans as an Idol-temple, the first Christian sermon was preached to the heathen Alemanni of the neighbourhood. A small Christian village was built on the spot, and here, from time to time, a goodly company of converted Alemanni formed a settlement. The missionaries laid out gardens, planted fruit-trees, and prosecuted their trade as fishermen for food and traffic on the lake of Constance with success, and what is better, they were eminently successful as fishers of men among the Alemanni.

But after three years of hard labour, Columbanus was obliged to flee a second time from persecution, and accompanied by some of his disciples, he went over the High Alps into Italy, leaving Gallus behind in Willimar's hut, detained by sickness. Another of Columbanus's companions, named Sigebert, remained also behind on Mount St. Gothard,* near the source of the Rhine, to testify to

* Columbanus is the patron-saint of the parish of Hospital, at the foot of St. Gothard. The church of Columbanus at Andermat, is said to have been built by the Lombards.

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the wild Rhetians of the salvation of Christ. He founded the celebrated Abbey of Dissentis * in the Grisons' country, from whence the light of divine truth penetrated afterwards into the deep valleys of the Rhetian Alps.

Columbanus founded a monastic seminary named Bobio, a secluded spot in the neighbourhood of the Trebbia, for the education of able missionaries to the heathen Longobards,† and lived to enjoy the happiness of seeing their King Agilulph, with a great number of the Lombards, added to the church. By the desire of Agilulph, as stated before, he addressed a letter of considerable vigour and spirit to Boniface IV., who was at that time bishop of Rome, and the first who claimed the supremacy now arrogated to itself by the papacy.‡

* A very humble house of refuge and a chapel, have existed for centuries at Hospice, on the top of St. Gothard, owing its origin to the Abbot of Dissentis, who constantly stations two monks there to attend to the spiritual as well as physical wants of distressed travellers.

† Longbeards: this name is a curious proof of the permanence of our Teutonic tongue. The Lombards are said, by their ancient chronicles, to have greatly resembled the Anglo-Saxons in manners, dress, and customs.

‡ It is on the authority of this letter, that Dr. Rock makes the strange assertion, that 'of the fathers of the church, whether of the west or east, none of them all declares *the supremacy* of the Roman Pontiff in stronger language, than the Irish Columbanus.'—(p. 56.) After a careful perusal of this letter, the only passage that seems to me to imply any thing of the kind, is the superscription; and I am afraid, that St. Jerome's remark on Celestius already referred to, 'that he was made fat with Irish *flummery*,'—might equally apply to Columbanus; who probably thought, that before he would make any grave and unpalatable charges against his holiness, a little Irish flummery might not be amiss, in the way 'of gilding the pill.'

This superscription is as follows:—'Palumbus ventures to write

In the year 616, he was called from his labours, after having with great self-denial, and mortification, consecrated forty-two years of his life, to the promulgation of Chris-

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to Pope Boniface, the most beautiful head of all the churches throughout the whole of Europe, to the very sweet Pope—to the very high Prelate—to the Pastor of pastors—to *the most reverend overseer ; a mere clown to one of the most polished manners, a man of no language to the most eloquent, the lowliest to the highest ; a foreigner to a native bred and born ; one poor and mean to one the most powerful, surpassing description, no equal, a rara avis.*¹

It must be obvious to every unprejudiced mind, that the epithets here employed by Columbanus, come far short of the modern views of papal supremacy, as now put forward by Romanists. The very manner in which he notices the headship of Rome, is inconsistent with the doctrine of supremacy, for he addresses the Pope, as ‘*reverendissimo speculatori*,’ the title of a mere Archbishop, and which Dr. Rock thinks it prudent *to omit in his translation* ; and again he addresses the Pope, not as the head of the Catholic Church, but only as the ‘*Head of all the churches of the whole of Europe.*’

Let us make another extract from this remarkable Epistle. Columbanus rebukes the pope in the following words, ‘*that thou mayest not be deprived of apostolic honour, preserve apostolic faith, confirm it by testimony, strengthen it by writing, fortify it by synod, that none may justly resist thee.*’² ‘*Watch therefore, I entreat thee, O Pope, watch ;—and again, I say, watch ; because, haply Vigilius did not carefully keep vigil, whom those who cast blame upon you, cry out to be the original cause of the scandal.*’¹ Bold language this, to

¹ *Pulcherrimo omnium totius Europæ ecclesiarum capiti, Papæ prædulci, præcelso præsuli, Pastorum Pastori, Reverendissimo Speculatori ; humilimus celsissimo, minimus maximo, agrestis urbano, micrologus eloquentissimo, extremus primo, peregrinus indigenæ, pauperculus præpotenti, mirum dictu ! nova res ! rara avis ! scribere audet Bonifacio Patri Palumbus.*

² ‘*Ut ergo honore Apostolico non careas, conserva fidem Apostolicam, confirma testimonio, roboras scripto, muni synodo, ut nullus tibi jure resistat.*’

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tianity, among the inhabitants of France, Germany, and Italy, and having educated a great multitude of disciples for this blessed employment.

be addressed, by an humble monk from Ireland, to the great and powerful bishop of Rome, 'that thou mayest not lack apostolic honour, preserve the apostolic faith.' If the apostolic faith be not preserved, the apostolic honour must fail, and then the time has arrived, when resistance may be right and lawful. This is the obvious meaning of the foregoing language, and this was the very principle, when worked out, that produced the blessed Reformation.

Again, we read, 'Lest therefore, the old robber bind men with this very long cord of error, let the cause of the schism, I pray, be immediately cut off from thee, as with the sword of St. Peter, that is by a true confession of the faith in a synod, and by an abhorrence and anathematizing of every heretic, that thou mayest cleanse the chair of St. Peter from all error, or rather horror, if any (as is reported) have gained admission: if not, that its purity may be known of all, for one must grieve and mourn, if in the Apostolic see, the Catholic faith be not maintained.'²

It is utterly impossible, that the saint who wrote these words, could have held the same religious belief, (Dr. Rock's letter to

¹ 'Vigita itaque quæso Papa vigila; et iterum dico: vigila, quia forté non bene vigilavit *Virgilius*, quem caput scandali isti clamant, qui vobis culpam injiciunt.'—(The history of Pope Vigilius, the suspicion raised against him of having favoured the Eutychiean heresy, and his condemnation, and subsequent approval of the celebrated *three chapters*, are here alluded to by Columbanus.—See Fleming's note on this passage, *Collectanea Sacra*, par. 146.—Todd's *Church of St. Patrick*, p. 146.)

² 'Ne igitur hoc fune erroris longissimo liget latro antiquus homines, causa schismatis incidatur, quæso, confestim à te, cultello quodammodo Sancti Petri, id est verâ in Synodo fidei confessione, et hæreticorum omnium abominatione, ac anathematizatione, ut mundes cathedram Petri ab omni errore, horrore, si quis est, ut aiunt, in tromissus, si non, puritas agnoscatur ab omnibus. Dolendum enim ac defendendum est, si in sede apostolicâ fides catholica non tenetur.'

ST. GALLUS.

St. Gallus.

In the meantime, St. Gall being left behind in consequence of illness, built himself a cell on the spot where the monastery of St. Gall now stands, and proceeded to

Lord John Manners, p. 6), 'as that taught by the now reigning Pope Gregory XVI.,' who in his well-known work in defence of the ultramontane theory, positively asserts, *the personal infallibility of the Roman Pontiff*.

There are other passages in this letter still more irreconcilable with the views of papal supremacy that have gained currency since his time, which from want of space I cannot quote, but will conclude, in the language of the Rev. Mr. Todd, with the references that may be drawn from the entire letter. 'From the extracts, (says Mr. Todd), I have now given, the following inferences may be drawn :—

1st. That according to the faith of Columbanus, it was possible for the See of Rome to forfeit 'apostolic honour,' by not preserving 'the apostolic faith.'

2nd. That the 'sword of St. Peter' signifies, not temporal power or spiritual jurisdiction, but 'a true confession of the faith in a synod.'

3rd. That 'the chair of St. Peter,' is capable of being defiled by doctrinal 'error.'

4th. That it is possible for 'the Catholic faith,' not to 'be held in the apostolic see.'

5th. That the occasion might arise, when it would be necessary for the See of Rome 'to clear itself,' before a synod of the church.

6th. That circumstances might justify 'junior,' or inferior churches, in opposing of Rome, and withdrawing from communion with her.

7th. That these same churches, instead of being her 'juniors' or inferiors, might be converted into her 'judges,' if she preserved not 'the orthodox faith.'

8th. That not from any divine appointment, but on account of the sacred memories of St. Peter and St. Paul, Rome is 'the head of all the churches of the world,' with the exception of *the singular*

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Gall derives
its political
existence.

publish the Gospel, with great success in the neighbourhood of the lakes of Zurich and Constance. In fortitude and devotion to his master's service, he was inferior to none of the missionaries of his age. St. Gall, a Town and Canton in Switzerland, derives its political existence from this Irishman.

In the seventh century, Pepin, Mayor of the Palace in France, founded an Abbey for the missionary. This Abbey became one of the principal seminaries in Christendom, and from thence the seed of eternal life was scattered over a large portion of the territories of the Alemanni. Its library was one of the largest then in existence, and we are indebted to its riches, for the works of several of the Greek and Latin Authors.* The children of the Emperors, and of the neighbouring Princes, were often sent there to be educated. The bishop of Constance co-operated in the work; which in a short time extended itself down as far as the provinces belonging to the Neckar. St. Gall at the age of ninety-five, departed to his rest, at the dwelling of his ancient friend Willimar, in Arbon, and was interred in his cell.

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prerogative of the Lord's resurrection,—to which a higher honour is attached, because of its still more sacred associations.

9th. That through 'perversity,' she might 'lose this dignity.'

10th and lastly, 'That unity of faith, has made unity of *power* and *prerogative* in the whole world,' (Church of St. Patrick, p. 136).

* The convent library still exists in the town, and contains many curiosities; such as various ancient Manuscript Letters, either from Ireland, or transcribed by Irish monks. Also a Manuscript of the Niebelungen Lied. The deserted monastery is now converted into a public school, and a part of it which formed the Abbot's Palace, now serves for the public offices of the government of the Canton.

KILLIAN, BISHOP—VIRGILIUS—JOHANNES SCOTUS
ERIGENA—DUNGAL.

In the year 685, an Irish Missionary named Killian and his companions settled in Wurzburg, where the heathen Duke of Thuringia, whose name was Gosbert, then resided. Killian preached successfully in all the provinces of the Maine, and Duke Gosbert himself was the first to receive baptism. Many of his court, and nearly all the eastern portion of the Franks, soon followed his example.*

Killian.
The mission
station at
Wurzburg.

* We are now come to another extraordinary assertion of Dr. Rock's, that 'the early Missionaries from Ireland used to go to Rome to do homage to the Pope, and crave the apostolic leave and blessing, before they went and preached to pagan nations,' (p. 82). The learned writer just quoted, has brought forward three instances of persons whom he calls, 'Irish Missionaries,' thus 'going to Rome to do homage to the Pope.' Let us very briefly examine into these important cases; remarking by the way, that they must evidently be deemed by this Author the most conclusive, and the best established, which his learning could discover in Irish history, or else he would scarcely have given them the prominent place they now hold in his argument.

The first of these cases, is that of St. Deicolus, or St. Dichuill, who, 'having founded in the sixth century the monastery of Lure, in the diocese of Besançon, hastened to Rome, to visit the threshold of the Apostles, and lay at the feet of the chief bishop, all right over the monastery and its possessions,' (Dr. Rock's Letter, p. 82). When St. Columbanus left Ireland, he took with him several companions; one of these was St. Deicolus, or Dichuill, who remained with Columbanus in the monastery of Luxeuil, until both were driven from it by unfortunate circumstances. Dichuill then went and founded the monastery of Lure, which he governed for many years; until at length, to use the words of Dr. Lanigan, 'wishing to spend his last days in retirement, he resigned the administration and withdrew to a solitary cell, where he devoted his time to divine con-

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It was however the will of God, that Killian should meet with the same fate as John the Baptist. The Duke, like Herod, had taken Geilana, his brother's wife to be his consort. Killian prudently waited till the Duke's con-

templation. He died on the 16th of January, about the year 625,' (Lanigan ii. 440.)

From this account it seems plain, that Dichuil was not a Missionary, but a hermit, or the founder of a monastery, and establishes nothing, as to the usual practice of 'Missionaries' from Ireland. But waving this point, and conceding for the sake of argument, that Dichuil may fairly be called a Missionary, still the story of his going to Rome, 'to lay at the feet of the chief bishop, all right over his monastery and its possessions, proves nothing for the purpose for which it is adduced.¹ 'The argument, 'says Mr. Todd,' is this, Dichuil founded a monastery, and obtained for it a rich endowment, and *after* having done so, he went and laid it at the Pope's feet; therefore, Irish Missionaries used to do homage to the Pope, *before* they went and preached to pagan nations.'

The next case Dr. Rock brings forward, is that of St. Willibrod, the first Archbishop of Utrecht; it may be enough to say, that Willibrod was a Saxon and not an Irish Missionary. But it has been further suggested that Willibrod spent twelve years in Ireland. This fact, however, does not render him in any degree a better witness to the practice of the Irish church; because his biographer, Alcuin, expressly tells us, 'that he spent his whole time there in the company, and under the instructions of the Saxon saints, Egbert and Wigbert,' who were at that time living in Ireland.

The only remaining instance relied on by Dr. Rock, is that of St. Killian. St. Killian set out for the continent of Europe, and at last arrived at Wurtzburg in Franconia. After this it is said that he visited Rome. The object he had in view of taking this step is unknown; but what has all this to do with Dr. Rock's bold assertion, 'that the early missionaries from Ireland *used* to go to Rome to crave

¹ 'These foolish stories,' says Dr. Lanigan, 'are scarcely worth notice.'

fidence in him was established, and then represented to him, that his connexion was sinful, and must be dissolved. The Duke promised to comply, but postponed it till his return from an expedition which he was obliged then to undertake. The danger of procrastination against the light of conscience, was never more strongly illustrated; during his absence, Geilana caused the missionary, with his assistants, to be seized and beheaded in prison, in 688. These servants of the most high God were immured in a close stall in their clerical attire, with the book of the gospel in their hands. The murderers and the contrivers of the murder, are said to have come to a horrible end, by the righteous visitation of God, which they could not escape; and the remembrance of the venerable martyr was hallowed for centuries among the people to whom he was sent to bring the glad message of salvation. The cathedral* of Wurzburg was erected in the eighth century, on the spot where Killian suffered martyrdom, who is now regarded as the apostle of Franconia.

History of
the Christian
Church by
the North
German
Society.

Virgilius.

VIRGILIUS, and seven Irish Bishops, went forth on a mission together to Germany, in the middle of the eighth century. He was afterwards appointed a Bishop of Saltzburg by King Pepin. During two years, his modesty prevented him from entering upon the work, but he was at length prevailed on to accept the office. His real name

the Apostolic leave and license *before* they preached to pagan nations.' So far from this,—the advocates of Roman supremacy have never yet produced a single well-authenticated instance in which a Bishop of Rome authorized a mission *before it left the shores of Ireland*.

* The idols that Killian ordered to be thrown into the river Maine, were found many centuries after this, when laying the foundation of a bridge over the Maine, and are now preserved in a house close to the Cathedral.

CENTURY
7—12.

Lanigan.

His threat-
ened perse-
cution.

Epist.
Zachariæ
Papæ ad
Bonifacium,
Apuđ. Usser
Syl. Ep. xvii.
Vol. iv. p. 463.

Two anony-
mous mis-
sionaries.

was Feargall. The Irish *Fear*, sometimes contracted into *Fer*, has, in latinizing of names, been changed into *vir*. Fear in Irish, as *vir* in latin, signifies man : Virgil was no other than Feargall, now called Farrell.

The most remarkable circumstances in the life of Virgilius, were his quarrel with Boniface, the archbishop and apostle of Germany, and his threatened prosecution by Rome, for holding the opinion that the world was round, and that there were other men under our feet.

It would be beside our present purpose to give any sketch of the causes of the difference between Boniface and Virgilius ; it must suffice to observe, that to a letter which the former sent to Rome, containing many complaints against Virgilius, Zachary, who was Bishop of Rome at that time, sent a reply, from which I take the following extract, ‘ With respect to that corrupt and impious doctrine, which he hath spoken against God and his own soul, if it be clearly proved, so that he is made to confess, that there is another world, and other men upon the earth, let a council be summoned, and when he is degraded from the honor of the priesthood, expel him from the Church.’

We have a very interesting account given by a monk of St. Gall in Switzerland, an Irish monastery, of two Irish missionaries, who went to France about the year 772. It is so completely *Irish*, that I cannot resist the temptation of relating it in this place.

When the illustrious Charles began to reign alone in the western parts of the world, and literature was everywhere almost forgotten, it happened that two Scots of Ireland came over with some British merchants to the shores of France,—men incomparably skilled in human learning, and in the *Holy Scriptures*. As they produced no merchan-

dise for sale, they used to cry out to the crowds flocking to purchase, 'If any one is desirous of wisdom, let him come to us, and receive it, for we have it to sell.' (there is an evident allusion here to Proverbs and Isaiah, lv.)

Multitudes flocked from all parts of the country to hear them. At last the report of their proceedings came to the ears of Charles, who sent for them, and replete with joy, kept them both with himself. After some time, being obliged to proceed on a military expedition, he ordered one of them to remain in France, entrusting to his care a great number of boys, not only of the highest noblesse, but likewise of the middling and lower ranks of society. The other he directed to proceed to Italy, and assigned to him the monastery of St. Augustine near Pavia, that such persons as chose to do so, might there resort to him for instruction.

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7—12.

Lanigan iii.
p. 208.

JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA.

Among the crowds of learned Irishmen, who went to France in those times, the most celebrated was Joannes Scotus. He was of a very small stature, but gifted with extraordinary genius. His studies were chiefly classical and philosophical, in which he distinguished himself, considering the times in which he lived. He appears to have been a very good man, and irreproachable in his conduct. On his removal to France, by his learning, eloquence and wit, he became a singular favourite with king Charles the Bald, who was so well pleased with him, that he kept him constantly with himself, and did him the honour of having him as a guest at his table. As John was a man of quick wit, and great eloquence, their conversation was sometimes of a jocular kind, and although he was not always sufficiently cautious not to give offence

Joannes Scotus Erigena.

His favourable reception.

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in his jokes, yet the king used to bear with what he said : On one occasion having been rather severe with a nobleman, who was dining with them, Charles provoked him by asking the question ‘ What was the difference between a Scot and a Sot ? ’ ‘ No more than this table’s breadth,’ said Erigena, looking the king in the face, who sat opposite to him.

As he was well skilled in Greek, Charles commissioned him, to translate into Latin the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, which he dedicated to the king. This translation was greatly admired for its accuracy, but being too literal was considered obscure.

Before the above translation appeared, he published a treatise ‘ on Divine Predestination : ’ in that work he maintained, that there is only one predestination, viz. *that of the elect*. This work was condemned by the third council of Valence in 855, as containing the inventions of the devil, rather than any profession of faith.

The doctrine
of transub-
stantiation.

Soon after this, he was consulted by Charles the Bald, upon the controversy of the Eucharist, which had its rise from a book written by Paschasius Radbertus, concerning the body and blood of Jesus Christ, wherein he asserted, that the body and blood of our Saviour, given in the sacrament, is the same flesh that was born of the virgin, and the same blood that was shed upon the cross. Our author wrote a book in two parts upon this dispute, wherein he maintained the contrary opinion, and held ‘ that the sacraments are not the real body and blood of Christ, but only a commemoration of his body and blood ;—that the sacrament in fact was merely a commemorative ordinance.’

This dispute concerning the manner of our Lord’s presence in the sacrament, remained an open question till the middle of the eleventh century. Until then the

disputants on both sides continued to advance their discordant opinions with the utmost freedom, unrestrained by the voice of authority ; but about the year 1050, the controversy raging with much vehemence on all sides, afforded matter of discussion to several councils, which were called to settle the question. The celebrated Berenger, who occupies so prominent a place in the ecclesiastical history of the eleventh century, distinguished himself by maintaining publicly in 1045, the doctrines of Joannes Scotus, and opposing with vehemence the monstrous opinions of Paschasius Radbert.

Berenger, however, met with a violent and furious antagonist in Pope Leo IX, who fiercely attacked his doctrines in A.D. 1050, and in two councils, held, one at Rome, the other at Vercelli, had the doctrine of Berenger solemnly condemned, and the book of Scotus, from which it was drawn, committed to the flames. As the holy apostles gloried in being made partakers of their Lord's sufferings, and cheerfully endured suffering wrongfully ; so might our distinguished countryman Scotus, if he were yet alive, glory in the fact, that his poor production was thought worthy of the same mark of hatred and reprobation, which has so often since his time, been inflicted, by the upholders of the same system, on the sacred volume itself. And as we find the book of Scotus treated in the same manner as the Holy Scriptures, we may hence infer, that the doctrines of both were much the same, and that our countryman gave a good scriptural exposition of the subject on which he wrote.*

His work on
the subject
committed
to the flames.

* Two of the most distinguished maintainers of the old view of the subject, in opposition to the novel invention of Radbert, were Bertram, a Priest and monk of Corbey, and our Joannes Scotus Erigena. These learned divines were ordered by the Emperor

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DUNGAL.

Dungal.

A native of Ireland, who having left his own country, ‘retired into a French monastery, where he lived during the reigns of Charlemagne and Lewis the Meek, and taught philosophy and astronomy with the greatest reputation.’ Such is the impartial testimony given by Dr. Mosheim, to the faith and practices of our Irish divines, and such were our forefathers, learned, able and faithful opposers of Roman corruptions for centuries preceding the introduction of Romanism into Ireland, and such was the Irish Church, centuries before the light of the reformation shone upon Europe.

Charles the Bald, to draw up a clear and rational explication of that important doctrine, which Radbert seemed to have so egregiously corrupted. The book of Bertram on the subject is still extant, and different English translations of it have been printed in Great Britain during the last century, but the treatise of Scotus perished in the ruins of time. Its character, however, is described as having been distinguished for the marks of a philosophical genius exhibited in it, and the logical precision with which he treated the question. Mr. Palmer in his Ecclesiastical History, (p. 128) looks upon his countryman Joannes as a *heretic*. The learned Doctor Cave, however, (*Historia Literaria*) makes the doctrine of Joannes to agree altogether with that of Bertram, who is acknowledged as orthodox even by Mr. Palmer.—(*A Primer of the Church History of Ireland*, by Robert King, A.B.)

CHAPTER VI.

THE INTRODUCTION OF ROMANISM INTO IRELAND—INVASION OF THE DANES AND NORMANS—IRELAND REDUCED THEREBY TO A WRETCHED STATE OF DESTITUTION—THE CONVERSION OF THE INVADERS, THE FIRST STEP TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH—THE SEE OF DUBLIN ERECTED—DONAGH THE FIRST BISHOP RECEIVES CONSECRATION FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY—LANFRANC INSINUATES HIMSELF INTO THE GOOD GRACES OF THE IRISH MONARCH TURLOGH—THE CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE ENGLISH PRIMATE, PRODUCES AN UNFAVOURABLE IMPRESSION ON THE MINDS OF THE IRISH CLERGY—GILLEBERT AN OSTMAN, BISHOP OF LIMERICK, APPOINTED THE POPE'S LEGATE—HIS WORK ON THE ORDER AND DISCIPLINE OF THE ROMISH CHURCH—ANSELM'S LETTER TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND—HE CULTIVATES THE GOOD DISPOSITION OF THE IRISH MONARCH—THE COUNCIL OF AONGUS—REDUCTION OF THE BISHOP'S SEES—CELESTINE AND THE CLERGY ALARMED WHEN IT WAS TOO LATE—MALACHY, CELESTINE'S SUCCESSOR, SOLICITS WITHOUT EFFECT THE PALL FROM THE POPE—THE RAPID INCREASE OF ROMANISM, FROM THE CRIMINAL INDIFFERENCE OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT—CARDINAL PAPARO SENT TO IRELAND AS THE POPE'S LEGATE—THE COUNCIL OF KELLS—PAPARO BESTOWS FOUR PALLS ON THE FOUR PRIMATES—POPE ADRIAN'S BULL—CONFIRMATORY LETTER FROM POPE ALEXANDER TO HENRY II—THE ENGLISH INVASION—THE SYNOD OF CASHEL—THE GREAT ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION—THE ORIGIN OF THE TWO CHURCHES IN IRELAND.

THE Irish annals inform us, says Sir James Ware, that in the year 795, the Danes and Normans first infested the

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Invasion of
the Danes
and Normans.

Ireland re-
duced
thereby.

Irish coasts. From this period till the English invasion, the history of Ireland presents an uniform scene of plunder and oppression on the part of the invaders; and when the English established themselves therein, few traces remained either of that learning, which had attracted students from every nation in Europe, and had educated the celebrated Alfred,* or of those arts of which the buildings, particularly the round towers, whose ruins lie scattered over the country, prove the existence.

Before the Danish invasion, the Irish Church had considerable possessions. Its revenues were derived principally from lands.

Our national writers are unanimous in representing the island as studded with bishop's sees, colleges, and religious houses, numerous beyond the example of other countries, and rich according to the circumstances of the people and the times. The ravages of the Danes commenced with the ninth century, and for three hundred years we lose all distinct notices of things, in one sanguinary chaos of rapine and revenge.

When men began to recover from this dreadful visitation, it was felt that religion had suffered grievously; the horrors of intestine warfare, favourable perhaps, in single instances, to an austere and unsocial piety, are fatal to the

* Bede says of Alfred, king of Northumberland, (not the great Alfred king of England) that he had studied a long time among the Irish *in their islands*; (alluding to the islands on which they built their seven churches and schools) and that he was very learned in the scriptures, viz., 'in scripturis doctissimus.' (Eccle. Hist. l. iv. c. 26.) Harpsfeld, treating of his return to Northumberland, describes him as having improved himself so much by his studies, *particularly sacred*, in Ireland, that he became highly qualified for being placed at the head of a state.—(Lanigan b. iv. p. 96.)

milder virtues. *And three centuries of invasion will suffice for the corruption of the finest people.*

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Nor could the clergy escape the general degeneracy. There was abundant time for the decay of discipline, of learning, and of manners: and the succession of the priesthood, supplied altogether from domestic sources, must have experienced no inconsiderable interruption. The temporal condition of the Church was reduced equally.

During the incursions of the barbarians, the retreats of religion had been the chief objects of their fury; and amidst the thousand necessities and temptations of such a time, the natives were gradually led to join in the spoliation. ‘The gentry of the old Milesian race were worn out and degenerate,’ and their successors combined the ferocious brutality of the invaders, with those more dastardly and contemptible vices which characterize a tarnished and decaying civilization. They did not allow either birthright or independence to the mass of the people, but held them in the most abject bondage of feudal servitude.

Being now freed from other warfare, they turned their arms against the ministers of peace. Their favourite exploit was the burning of churches and colleges, and when a prince aspired to pre-eminent renown, he fitted out an expedition against those religious houses which he suspected of retaining a wreck of their former possessions. Of the bishops’ lands, the greater part was seized by the chieftains, and the remainder subjected to heavy imposts for the support of their numerous and disorderly followers; and the better to secure for themselves the temporalities of the prelates, they intruded even upon their spiritual functions. The princes of the territory in which Armagh

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was situated, usurped the title, as well as the demesnes of the successor of St. Patrick, and the example was followed by many of their rapacious nobles.

The conver-
sion of the
invaders.

Such appears to have been the state of Ireland, when the See of Rome commenced tampering with our princes and prelates. The first severe shock which the Irish Church received being from these foreigners; for after their conversion to Christianity, instead of uniting with, and restoring the purity of our Church, and reviving the splendour of our institutions, and literary seminaries, which their pagan zeal had nearly annihilated; they introduced, in the tenth century, the Benedictine order of monks, who sought admiration more from the lustre of their external performances, than from the cultivation of useful literature or substantial piety.

The See of
Dublin.
Donagh, the
first bishop
consecrated.

Usher's
Syllog. p.100.

In the eleventh century, these piratical foreigners had established kings in almost every part of the island; Silitzic, one of these Danish kings, reigned in Dublin about the year 1038, where he erected a See, making Donagh his countryman its first bishop. He received consecration, and the episcopal dignity, from the archbishop of Canterbury.* On the death of Donagh, the clergy

* There were three Irish cities, whose inhabitants, during the Danish power in Ireland, refused to place themselves under the jurisdiction of the primate of Armagh. These were Waterford, Dublin, and Limerick, all which were in possession of the Danes, whose first invasion of Ireland took place towards the close of the eighth century. The proud northern warriors were very fortunate in being able to seize upon three towns, whose connection with the sea facilitated their communication with other parties of their roving countrymen, and it was chiefly owing to this piece of good fortune, that the Irish were so long unsuccessful in their attempt to drive them out of the island.

Invaders obtaining a settlement in a country naturally look with

and people of Dublin elected Patrick, and recommended him to Lanfranc, the English primate, for consecration, which he received in St. Paul's church in London; on which occasion he made the following profession of obedience: 'Whoever is set in authority over others, ought not to disdain to be subject unto others, but rather with all humility give that obedience to his superiors which he requires from those that are subject to him. Wherefore I Patrick, elect bishop of Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, offer to you, reverend Lanfranc, primate of Britain, and promise obedience to you and your successors, in all things relating to the Christian religion;' or, as it might be more truly expressed, in all things relating to the Romish Church.

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Lanfranc.

Lanfranc, taking advantage of this favourable circumstance, in order to advance the cause of Romanism in Ireland, accompanied the consecration of bishop Patrick to the See of Dublin, with a letter to Gothric 'the glorious King of Ireland,' and another to Turlogh 'the magnificent King of Ireland' as he styles them. In this epistle to Gothric, the primate states some customs which he desires him to correct, holding out the expectation of acknowledging his authority: thus endeavouring to lay down a precedent for his future interference in the internal regulations of the Irish Church.

no friendly eye upon its original inhabitants. Their contentions are so fierce and so frequent, their hostilities so bitter, that an ill will springs up, which it often takes a lengthened period to bury in oblivion. And it was partly from this cause, and partly from a desire to connect themselves with their Norman friends in England, that the Danes of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, upon their conversion to christianity, sent their bishops to Canterbury for consecration.'

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7—12.

Lanfranc having secured the attachment of Gothric, the Danish monarch, proceeded further to insinuate himself, by the most flattering language, into the good opinion of the Irish monarch Turlogh. He tells him, ‘God bestows no greater mercies upon the earth, than when he promotes to the government of souls and bodies, such as affect peace and love justice, and especially when he commits the kingdoms of the world to good kings; from hence peace arises, discord is extinguished, and to sum up all, the observance of the Christian religion is established, which blessing every prudent observer perceives to have been conferred on the people of Ireland, when the omnipotent God granted to your excellency, the right of kingly power over the land.’ He adds, ‘that the bishop Patrick had declared so many great and good things of him, that he loved him, though unseen, as if he had known him.’

Usher-Syllog.

All this was very plausible, but full of insincerity, for nothing in the Irish Church could afford Lanfranc satisfaction, so long as her hierarchy acknowledged no subjection to him, her clergy were married, and her rites and ceremonies were not in unison with the Church of Rome. He therefore only artfully touches on matters which could give no great offence to the Irish clergy, and that in the gentlest manner. He remarks their uncanonical marriages—that bishops were consecrated but by *one*, their children baptized without chrism, and holy orders conferred for money; and in conclusion, he begs of Turlogh to assemble a synod of his bishops and clergy, to rectify these abuses. From this it would appear that our monarchy and hierarchy were at this time complete and independent—not subjected either to a legate, to the archbishop of Canterbury, nor the Pope.

This correspondence with the English primate produced

an highly unfavourable effect on the minds of the Irish clergy. They gradually became prejudiced against the old religion of the country, and disposed to innovation. Dazzled with the recent success of the Normans in England, and perhaps terrified at the fate of that kingdom, and the spiritual sovereignty claimed by the British primate over Ireland, they thought it better to shew some condescension on this occasion, than provoke a doubtful contest; and therefore at the end of the eleventh century, they admitted Gillebert, or more correctly Giselbert, a foreigner as his name intimates, *as legate*, who was at the same time Bishop of Limerick, a great Norman settlement; and it was soon apparent that the legantine authority could not be in safer hands, or committed to one more obsequious, both to the court of Rome, and to Anselm who succeeded Lanfranc, as Archbishop of Canterbury, and with whom he was acquainted at Rouen.

He was a man of some ingenuity and learning, as his tract in Usher evinces. This tract contains a plain and simple account of the orders and discipline of the Romish Church, and was obviously composed to instruct the Irish with what they were before ignorant of, and to prevail on them to adopt an uniformity in the celebration of divine offices.

In the prologue, Gillebert says: ‘At the request, and even command of many of you, dearly beloved, I have endeavoured to set down in writing the canonical custom, in saying of hours, and performing the office of the whole ecclesiastical order; not presumptuously, but through desire to serve your most godly command, to the end that those *diverse and schismatical* orders, wherewith, in a manner, *all Ireland is deluded*, may give place to one Catholic and Roman office.’ ‘What can appear more

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Correspondence with
the English
primate.

Gillebert,
Bishop of
Limerick.

Usher-Sylleg.
p. 88.

His work
concerning
the Romish
Church.

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7—12.

indecent and *schismatical*, than that the most learned in one order, shall be ignorant as a layman in another.' 'As the dispersion of tongues arose from pride, and were again joined in apostolic humility, so the confusion of orders from negligence or corruption, is to be brought by your pious endeavours to the holy rule of the Roman Church.' 'It is plain from many parts of scripture, how carefully the faithful should preserve unity of profession; for all the members of the Church are subject to one bishop who is Christ, and to his blessed apostle Peter, and to his apostolic representative in his seat, and they ought to be governed by them.'

Anselm's
letter to the
Irish bishops.

This tract is addressed to the *dissenting* bishops and presbyters of Ireland, for it would have been an insult to the Romish ecclesiastics to have addressed to them (as if novices) such an elementary work. In it he explicitly declares how their *schismatical* orders differed from the Roman; that is, their ritual and forms of worship, for such is often the meaning of the word *order* in the Romish vocabulary. In 1094, Gillebert sent a present of twenty-five pearls to Anselm, and congratulated him on his criminal triumph over his sovereign in the affair of investitures.

The English primate having obtained an entrance for the legate, through the favour of the Irish monarch, instantly began tampering with the clergy. In 1095, he addressed an epistle to his reverend fellow-bishops in Ireland, in which he particularly mentions the *senior* Domnald, and Donat,—the latter, bishop of Dublin, the former of Armagh. He endeavoured to excite their pity for his sufferings in the cause of the church. He exhorts them to vigilance and sincerity in ecclesiastical discipline, and adds, that if disputes about the consecration of bishops, or other causes could not be canonically settled among them—

selves, to bring them before him. This assumption of supremacy over the Irish Church, and the right of appeal, had a direct tendency to destroy its ancient independence.

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6—12.

Turlogh, the Irish monarch, had virtually surrendered his legal rights to the Pope, through his delegate the English primate, when he recommended Donogh O’Haingly to succeed Patrick in the See of Dublin. Murtogh, who mounted the throne after Turlogh, joined his nobility and clergy in a similar act, when they sent Malchus to be consecrated at Canterbury. Murtogh, who was involved in perpetual broils with his family, and the provincial kings, hoped by these concessions to derive no small aid from the power and friendship of the English court, in subduing and keeping in awe his own rebellious subjects.

Anselm did not omit to cultivate this good disposition in the Irish monarch, for he addressed to him two epistles, in which we find him mentioning in general the *uncanonical* state of the Irish Church, and he specifies in proof of his assertion, the instances notified by his predecessor Lanfranc, and advises him to call a council to correct these errors, and to regulate ecclesiastical affairs. This he did in 1111, when he convened the nobility and clergy in a place called Tiodhaongusa, or Aongussgrove, in the plain of Magh-Breassail in Meath, where was a wood sacred to religion from the remotest ages, and which on account of ancient prepossession was used, in order to give greater solemnity to the proceedings. The number of clergy, according to *Chronicon scotorum*, amounted to fifty-eight bishops, three hundred and Seventeen priests, and sixty deacons, with many of inferior orders. The same year another council was held in Meath, under the presidency of the pope’s legate, when the numerous petty dioceses of that district were reduced to two, Clonmacoish and Clonard.

The disposition of the Irish Monarch.

The council of Aongus.

CENTURY
6—12.

Reduction of
the bishop's
sees.

This attempt to reduce the number of our Sees, and of course augment their revenues, rendered the clergy more wealthy, and the Church more manageable by the pope and his legate. It required time however, to accomplish these designs; but a beginning was now first made, in the plan laid down for the subjugation of the Irish Church, which proved eventually, but too successful. The decrees made by this assembly, were, that the clergy in future were to be exempt from taxation and secular laws; whatever they contributed to the support of the state was to be considered a free gift. The bishops were to resign the right they received from St. Patrick, of consecrating bishops at pleasure, and the number of bishops was hereafter to be limited to twenty-eight; this last enactment was not however to encroach on the rights of the present possessors.

It must occur to every one, that these decrees could not be esteemed the avowed sentiments of the national clergy, for only about a sixth part of the episcopal order consented to them, notwithstanding all the efforts of the monarch, and his associates, in favour of the Romish party. They were therefore the production solely of those who had embraced their views, and were under the influence of the English court. The activity of the king, indeed, proceeded partly from a secret motive; Robert de Montgomery, earl of Salop, and Arnulph his brother, earl of Pembroke, had rebelled against Henry I. Arnulph solicited assistance, and his daughter's hand from Mortogh. The latter he obtained, but we are not told what aid he procured; we know the rebellion was unsuccessful, and Arnulph was obliged to seek refuge in Ireland. Mortogh writes to Anselm, and thanks him for interceding for his son-in-law, and adds, 'Be assured I will obey your commands.'

This was the spring that set in motion the zeal of Mor-

togh, and made him perfectly obedient to the English primate and court; ‘So devoted (says William of Malmshbury) were Mortogh and his successors to Henry I, that they “writ nothing but what he directed.”’ We need not doubt therefore, that Anselm used his own and Henry’s influence in urging the Irish monarch to new-model the Irish Church, and to bring it into complete subjugation to the See of Rome.

Matters, however, did not proceed so smoothly as they expected. The Irish clergy had been hitherto cajoled by proposals and schemes for Reformation, which, as they could not decently oppose, they acquiesced in, to a certain extent; but when they discovered the unreasonable length to which affairs were likely to be carried;—that their ecclesiastical polity was to be dissolved, and they and their church to become dependent on the nod of the Roman pontiff, they could no longer forbear expressing their resentment.*

* Lanfranc and Anselm, in thus interfering with the primatial rights of Armagh, fell into very serious error. They exceeded their lawful authority by intruding into ‘other men’s labours,’ and thus in fact fostered the schism and disunion which then prevailed in Ireland; the only circumstance which could have justified their interference, even in that age, was the fact of the complete isolation of the Church of Ireland from the see of Rome. For had it been otherwise—had the Roman pontiff been then in the habit of exercising a supreme authority in Ireland, as he afterwards did—the inhabitants of the three Danish cities could scarcely have thought of placing themselves under the care of the Archbishops of Canterbury; who, in all human probability, would have run the risk of an excommunication from the Pope for interfering with the immemorial privilege of the see of Armagh, and assuming an authority which belonged only to the court of Rome; and indeed, had the supremacy of the Pope, as stated by Dr. Rock, been *the received and acknowledged doctrine of the Irish Church from the very beginning*: surely the first step which the

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We therefore find the clergy and burgesses of Dublin informing Ralph (Radolphus) who succeeded Anselm in Canterbury, that the bishops of Ireland, and especially he who resided at Armagh, felt the greatest indignation towards them for not accepting their ordination, and for desiring them to be under his (Radolphus') spiritual dominion. But it was too late; our princes had lost their spirit, and their power, and domestic discord suggested ambitious views to their designing neighbours.

Celestine and
the clergy
alarmed.

Celsus or Celestine, bishop of Armagh, the prelate who thus resented the interference of the English primate, though well affected in some respects to Rome, could not be prevailed on to separate from his wife and children. When dying, however, he was persuaded by the Romish party to send his crosier to Malachy O'Morgain, in token of his appointment to the See of Armagh. Malachy *

Prelates of Armagh should have taken, when the people of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, had refused 'to obey their ordination,' would have been to appeal to Rome, to complain of the separation and dis-affection of these unruly churches.

* It is perhaps not generally known, that the Roman Catholics possess by anticipation, a list of all the Popes, who are to reign till the end of the world, and that our St. Malachy has the merit of having drawn up this prophetic catalogue. St. Malachy O'Morgan was born at Armagh in the year 1094, and became Archbishop of that see in 1127, he resigned his honours in 1135, and after working many miracles, he died in 1143 at Clairvaux in France. It may be remarked, that he was the first saint regularly canonized by the Pope, who before the twelfth century had not the sole right of canonization, previous to which time provincial councils, and even bishops had conferred this honour. Alexander III. deprived them of this privilege.

Among other proofs of Malachy's supernatural powers, he left a list of all the Popes from Celestine II. 1143, to the end of time. The fact is now pretty well ascertained, that this was the invention of the

was a zealous champion for the new religion, and after some dangerous, but successful struggles, ascended the archiepiscopal chair.

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6—12.

One of the first acts of Malachy was to solicit the pall

Cardinals assembled in conclave, to elect a Pope upon the death of Urban VII. in 1590. The partisans of Cardinal Simoncelli, afterwards Gregory XIV. brought forward this list as a prophecy of St. Malachy, and the words which were considered indicative of his election were 'de antiquitate urbis,' the Cardinal being a native of 'Orvieto,' the Latin name of which was 'urbs vetus.' No mention is made of the existence of such a prophecy till 1600, when it was published by Arnold de Wyon, a Benedictine of Douay; and if we look to each prediction and its completion, before the time of Gregory XIV., we shall see very clearly that the framers of it went upon good historical grounds, but after his time, the application of the prophecy is extremely forced.

To make this clear I will give the three Popes who succeeded each other immediately after the death of St. Malachy, and then the three who followed Gregory XIV.

1143.—'Ex castris Tiberis.'—Celestine II. born at a castle on the Tiber.

1144.—'Inimicus expulsus.'—Lucius II. of the family of Cassinemia, in Bologna.

1145.—'Ex magnitudine Montis.'—Eugenius III. of Grandi, near Pisa.

In these cases the agreement is very evident, but in the three cases which immediately follow Gregory XIV. there is a striking difference.

1591.—'Pia civitas in bello.'—Innocent IX. a native of Bologna.

1592.—'Crux Romulea.'—Clement VIII. of the Aldobrandini family, said to be descended from the first Roman christians. They bear a crossed branch in their arms.

1605.—'Undosus vir.'—Leo XI. He was tossed as a wave, only reigning twenty-six days.

1775.—Pius VI. had the symbol 'Peregrinus Apostolicus,' which of course was accomplished by his journey to Vienna.

1800.—Pius VII. is designated by 'Aquila rapax,' and though his

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Malachy solicits without effect, the pall from the Pope.

Rapid increase of Romanism.

for his See, from Pope Innocent II. But this his holiness declined; for the Irish clergy were as yet very far from yielding obedience to the court of Rome, and the pall, in the present state of affairs, so far from commanding respect, might have subjected the wearer to insult. Though Malachy remained but three years in Armagh, being driven from thence by the old family, he still was active in advancing the cause he had espoused; in proof of which it appears, that he introduced the order of Cistercians into Ireland, in the year 1140, by the advice and under the direction of St. Bernard; settling them at Mellefont, Newry, Bective, Boyle, Baltinglass, Nenagh, and Cashel. By these means, through the criminal inattention and inconsiderate sacrifices made by our princes, and the unabating zeal of its supporters, Romanism was daily gaining ground in Ireland.

own character would deserve a much more amiable description, yet the rapacity of the French Eagle in his day, has certainly made his history singular among that of all the successors of St. Peter.

1823.—Leo XII. ‘Canis et Columba,’ said to have shown himself gentle and good before he became Pope, and otherwise when he was so.

1829.—Pius VIII. ‘Vir religiosus.’

1831.—Gregory XVI. ‘De Balneus Hetruriæ,’ the present Pope.

It is, however, interesting to know that our countryman did not anticipate more than eleven Popes from the present time, who are predicted under the following emblems:—I. ‘Crux de cruce.’—II. ‘Lumen in Cælo.’—III. ‘Ignis Ardens.’—IV. ‘Religio depopulata.’—V. ‘Fides intrepida.’—VI. ‘Pastor Angelicus.’—VII. ‘Pastor et Nauta.’—VIII. ‘Flos Florum.’—IX. ‘De meditare Lunæ.’—X. ‘De Labore Solis.’—XI. ‘De gloriæ olivæ.’

The concluding words of the prophecy are these—‘In the last persecution of the holy Roman church, Peter of Rome shall be on the throne, who shall feed his flock in many tribulations. When these are past, the city upon seven hills shall be destroyed, and the awful judge shall judge the people.’

Thus encouraged, the court of Rome sent John Paparo, cardinal of St. Lawrence in Damaso, into Ireland, in 1152, to settle its hierarchy on a new and permanent plan. A council was consequently held in Kells, where Christian, bishop of Lismore presided, who had been educated at Clairvaux, under St. Bernard, and of course had the papal interest much at heart.

The great object of Paparo's legation was, as I said before, to new-model the Irish hierarchy on the Roman plan, and by this means to bring them under the dominion of the Roman See, and above all to lay the foundation of a regular revenue to be paid for its support. These things could not be accomplished without altogether changing the constitution of the Irish Church, the first step towards which was to reduce the number of its Sees, the multiplicity of which, (as I have elsewhere stated,) bishop Rochfort's canons fully declare. Paparo also bestowed four palls* on the four primates, which, with the bulls for the other bishops, brought a large sum of money into the cardinal's coffers.

The Roman pontiff having now brought over a considerable party to his views in the Irish Church, and finding the success of Paparo's legation very problematical, resolved to place Ireland in more powerful hands, and for this end he issued the following bull, A.D. 1155, 'Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious King of England, health and apostolical benediction. Full, laudably, and profitably hath your magnificence conceived the desire of propagat-

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Cardinal
Paparo sent
to Ireland.
The council
of Kells.

Paparo bestows four
palls on the
four Pri-
mates.

Pope
Adrian's
bull.

* The mantle of an Archbishop,—'an Archbishop ought to be consecrated and anointed, and after consecration he shall have the *Pall* sent him.'—(Aycliffe.)

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6—12.

ing your glorious renown on earth, and completing your reward of eternal happiness in heaven; while as a catholic prince, you are intent on enlarging the borders of the Church, instructing the rude and ignorant in the truth of the Christian faith; exterminating vice from the vineyard of the Lord, and for the more convenient execution of this purpose, requiring the council and favour of the apostolic See, in which the more mature your deliberation, and more discreet your conduct, so much the happier, with the assistance of the Lord, will be your progress; as all things which take their beginning from the ardor of faith, and love of religion, are wont to come to a prosperous issue.

‘ There is indeed no doubt, as your Highness also doth acknowledge, that Ireland and all the islands* upon which Christ the sun of righteousness hath shone, do belong to the patrimony of St. Peter and the holy Roman Church. Therefore are we the more solicitous to propagate in that land, the goodly scion of faith, as we have the secret monition of conscience that such is more especially our bounden duty.

‘ You then, most dear son in Christ, have signified unto us, your desire to enter into that land of Ireland, in order to reduce the people to obedience unto laws, and extirpate the seeds of vice; you have also declared that you are willing to pay from each house, a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter, and that you will preserve the rights of the churches of the said land, whole and inviolate.

‘ We therefore, with that grace and acceptance suited to

* Pope Innocent II. in 1139, made a similar grant of Sicily, to Roger, the younger brother of Robert Guiscard, the founder of the Norman kingdom of Naples.—(Hallam’s Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 167.)

your pious and praiseworthy design, and favourably assenting to your petition, do hold it right and good, that, for the extension of the borders of the church, the restraining of vice, the correction of manners, the planting of virtue, and increase of religion, you enter the said island, and execute therein whatever shall pertain to the honour of God, and the welfare of the land ; and that the people of the said land receive you honourably, and reverence you as their Lord, saving always the rights of the churches, and reserving to St. Peter, the annual pension of one penny upon every house.

‘ If then, you be resolved to carry this design into effectual execution, study to form the nation to virtuous manners ; and labour by yourself and by others, whom you may judge meet for the work, in faith, word, and action, that the church may be there exalted, the Christian faith planted, and all things so ordered for the honor of God and the salvation of souls, that you may be entitled to a fulness of reward in heaven, and on earth to a glorious renown throughout all ages.*

* ‘ Imagination,’ (exclaims Plowden, a Roman Catholic historian, when inserting this bull), ‘ can scarcely invent a pretext, for the bishop of Rome, exceeding the line of his spiritual power, by a formal assumption of temporal authority over independent states.’

Nothing can be more clear than the inference ; that at the date of Pope Adrian’s Bull, Ireland was not considered within the ‘ boundaries of the Romish Church,’ for else how could those boundaries have been ‘ extended ’ by Henry’s invasion ?

It is also evident, that the Irish had not been in the habit of paying St. Peter’s pence, and that both in doctrine and discipline, they differed widely from the Roman model ; for what else can be the meaning of the words ‘ to declare to that illiterate nation the verity of the Christian faith ? ’ Or of another expression, which I shall quote

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This conveyance was made to Henry, and by him communicated to that portion of the Irish hierarchy, which he considered friendly to his views. The negotiation between them was conducted secretly for some years, until circumstances had effected a lodgment for the English arms in Ireland.* The brief was then publicly read at the Synod

in the original, on account of its peculiar force, ‘*ut ibi plantetur, et crescat fidei Christianæ religio?*’

* The following interesting account of the first lodgment of the English arms in Ireland, is given by the Rev. Dr. Walsh, Author of ‘an Overland Journey from Constantinople to Vienna.’ ‘Between the harbours of Wexford and Waterford, is a tract of fertile land, containing about sixty square miles, called the baronies of Forth and Bargie. The appellations are significant; Bar, is fruitful; Forth, is plenty; and Geo, the sea. The names therefore, indicate exactly the character of the place, a fertile and plentiful tract on the sea-coast. Behind it runs a ridge of mountains, and before it, is the sea; so that it is in some measure insulated, and retains much of the primæval and original character of a place cut off from free intercourse with the rest of the country.

‘It however, lies directly opposite Cardiganshire in Wales; and certain promontories projecting to the east, approach so near to the contiguous coast, as to invite the inhabitants of the other side to come over and visit it. From the earliest periods therefore, long before the Anglo-Norman invasion, a free intercourse had taken place between the two principalities, and many Irish families settled in Wales, and many Welsh in Ireland. The latter were so numerous, that a large district in the county Wexford is called Scarla walsh; and there is a long tract of high land in the neighbouring county of Kilkenny, called the Welsh mountains, from the number of families of this name and nation who settled there, and where at this day they form a sept or clan; and as the colonization was gradually effected by free consent, and friendly intercourse, the name of Welsh is held in more esteem by the peasantry of the country, than they attach to others which are not strictly native, because it is not connected with those traditions of rapine and blood, which generally distinguished later foreign settlers during the trou-

of Cashel, with the following confirmatory letter from Pope Alexander the third.

‘Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God. To his dearly beloved son, the noble King of England, health, grace, and apostolical benediction.

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6—12.

Confirmatory
letter from
Pope Alex-
ander to
Henry II.

bles in Ireland. The language of Wales also was Celtic, and spoken by both people in common ; even at this day they are the same, and differ only in some dialectic peculiarities.

‘In the year 1169, however, this friendly intercourse was interrupted, and the first hostile foot from Wales pressed the soil of Ireland. The occasion was not very creditable to the morality of the invaders. The Normans having conquered England, were now determined to pass over to Ireland, and only waited for a pretext to effect their purpose. This was soon afforded. Dermot Macmorrogh, the King of Leinster, had looked with a profligate eye on the wife of his neighbour, and induced her to abandon her husband, and take up her residence in his castle at Ferns. The Irish, it appears, held at this time in high respect the sacred obligation of marriage, for a general spirit of indignation was on this occasion felt, and expressed, particularly by his own subjects, and Dermot was compelled to abandon his throne. In this distress he applied to Henry II, and the Normans who had recently conquered England, and they readily and without scruple, undertook to re-instate the adulterer. From this causa teterrima belli, the Lady has been called ‘the Irish Helen ; the Greeks, however, proceeded to punish, and not to protect, the seducer of their frail beauty.

‘In the month of May, 1169, Robert Fitzstephen, then governor of Cardigan Castle, in Wales, accompanied by Harvey-de Monte Marisco, collected a force of thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers, and embarking in two ships (called Bagge and Bunn, according to the tradition of the country) they ran for the nearest headland, and disembarked at a point called at this day Baganbun, from the names of the vessels which brought them over. They were the next day joined by Prendergast with ten knights and two hundred archers, making in all an army of six hundred men. Dermot had remained secreted in his castle of Ferns, waiting the arrival of the strangers ; they therefore, apprised him of their com-

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6—12.

‘Forasmuch as things given and granted upon good reason by our predecessors, are to be well allowed for, ratified, and confirmed ; we, well pondering and considering the grant and privilege for, and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland, to us appertaining, and

ing, and in the meantime fortified themselves on the promontory, till some expected reinforcements, which he promised to send, should arrive, to assist and guide them.

‘In a short time he was able to dispatch his illegitimate son Donald, with five hundred horse ; and with this reinforcement, they set out from their position to penetrate into the interior of the country. Their direct road would have been through the parish of Bannow, which lay opposite to them ; but as they had two deep and rapid channels of the sea to cross, at the mouth of the bay, they were obliged to proceed round the other extremity of it. In their way, they were opposed by some Irish collected hastily at Feathard. Here the first encounter took place between the Anglo-Normans and the Irish ; and it is still called ‘Battlestown’ by the peasants, in commemoration of that circumstance. It is further added by the tradition of the country, that Feathard was a name given to the town built on the spot by the conqueror, who called it ‘Foughthard,’ which was in process of time corrupted into Feathard.

‘From hence, ascending the river, which falls into Bannow Bay, the invader passed through Goffe’s bridge to the town of Wexford. Wexford was originally built by the piratical Danes at a very early period, and called by them, ‘West or Wexford, the western bay.’ It was rudely fortified, but could not resist the invaders, now reinforced by all Mac Morrogh’s adherents. It was therefore taken, and Dermot made it a present to Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald, as a reward for their services. Fitzstephen built on the river, not far from it, a castle, on a promontory of lime-stone rock, and so erected the first Norman fortification ever built in Ireland. This still stands, commanding the navigation of the Slaney, and is a very curious and conspicuous object.

‘This expedition was [followed by that of Strongbow, Earl of Chepstow, who has gained the reputation of a conquest which had been achieved by his predecessor, as Americus Vesputius defrauded

lately given by our predecessor Adrian, do in like manner confirm, ratify and allow the same, provided that there be reserved and paid to St. Peter, and to the Church of Rome, the yearly pension of one penny, out of every house, both in England and in Ireland; provided also that the barbarous people of Ireland be by your means reformed, and recovered from their filthy life, and abominable manners, that as in name, so in conduct and conversation, they may become Christians; provided further that that rude and disordered Church being by you reformed, the whole nation may, together with the profession of the faith, be in act and deed followers of the same.'

Columbus of his title to America. Strongbow passed the promontory of Baganbun, and proceeded up the contiguous harbour of Waterford. Waterford was also built by the Danes, and was a place of some strength and trade. It was called by them Vader Fiord, the father's harbour, and dedicated to Woden, the Father of Scandinavian deities, of which the present name Waterford is an absurd corruption. On one side of Strongbow stood a tower, erected by the Danes on the Wexford, on the other, a church, built by the Irish, on the Waterford shore. It was necessary to land, but he hesitated on which side he should disembark to march to Waterford. On enquiring the names of the places he saw, he was informed, one was the tower of Hook, and the other, the church of Crook. 'Then,' said he, 'shall we advance and take the town by Hook or by Crook,' and hence originated a proverb now in common use. Strongbow took Waterford, where his grim statue in blue lime-stone, stands at this day in the front of the ringtower close beside the river. He was followed by Henry II. with a large army, and so the warriors obtained the same footing in Ireland as they had done in England; though it took them a much longer time afterwards to establish it. Henry adopted the example of Dermot; he made Dublin a present to his good citizens of Bristol, and the original of this cool and extraordinary gift of the capital of a kingdom to the traders of a commercial town, is still extant in the record-office of the castle of Dublin.'—(The Amulet for 1330.)

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6—12.

The English
invasion.

Four years after, these two edicts were again solemnly promulgated by a synod held at Waterford. Henry was formally proclaimed Lord of Ireland, and the severest censures of the Church denounced against all who should impeach the donation of the Holy See, or oppose the government of its illustrious representative.

I shall now direct your attention to the nature and extent of the ecclesiastical revolution, which was brought about by the joint influence of Rome and England, and the contagion of priestly influence.

A few facts decisive of this point, and acknowledged by the most learned of the Roman Catholic writers, are discernible amidst the darkness which overhangs our early history. 'It appears that before this period, the Irish ecclesiastics took no oaths to the Pope.'

Dr. O'Connor's Columbanus III, p. 160.
Chas. O'Connor, Sen. Dissert. on Irish Hist. p. 203.

'They never applied to the See of Rome for bulls of nomination, institution, or exemption.'

Ibid.

'They never appealed to Rome for the decision of ecclesiastical causes.'

O'Connor's Columbanus V. 45.

'The bishops and prelates of a tribe, were appointed by the chieftain, either directly, or with the previous form of an election, by the priesthood.'

O'Connor's Hist. Address, I. 10.

'Papal legates had no jurisdiction in Ireland until the twelfth century, and after that period, their jurisdiction was limited to the English settlements.'

Lanigan, IV. 12, 218.

'In general the discipline of the Irish Church had so little correspondence with the Roman, that it received several hard names from the papal Church in the twelfth century. Pope Alexander and Cambrensis call it FILTHY; Anselm and Gilbert, SCHISMATICAL; Bernard, BARBAROUS and ALMOST PAGAN.'

These instances are so many incontestible proofs, that the government of the Irish Church was strictly domestic,

and that the hierarchy was completely independent of any foreign power. But we are not without more direct information on this subject; as it appears the ecclesiastics themselves were not exempted from military service until the year 799, after Ireland had been Christianized for more than six centuries, and the immunity was then granted *without reference to papal authority*. 'In other respects, they owed their Chieftains the customary duties of clansmen, and were amenable to the ordinary Brehon jurisdiction.'

CENTURY
6—12.

O'Connor,
Sen. Disc.
216.

Lanigan, IV.
209.

Thus it appears, that under the ancient system, the power of an Irish Prince was as absolute over the priesthood of his sept, as over any other class among his followers. But how striking the change that now took place! The writ of Henry II, appointed Fitzadelm to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, is addressed 'To his Archbishops, Bishops, **KINGS**, Earls, Barons, &c. Henry III commences one of his writs in these terms, 'Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, &c. To our venerable father **LUKE**, by the same grace, a Bishop of Dublin:—to his trusty and well-beloved, Maurice Fitzgerald, his Lord deputy of Ireland,' &c.

The change also that took place regarding Church property, was even more remarkable. Among the seven decrees of the Cashel synod, in the articles of union, as they may be called, between the Anglo-Irish Church and state, there were four which regulated the revenues of the clergy. It was enacted by one of these, 'that Church lands should be free from the customary exactions of the Chieftains, from all demands, whether of money, or of entertainment.' 'That they should be likewise exempt from certain fines imposed by the Brehon law; that all the faithful should pay tithes of their cattle, fruits, and all

The Synod
of Cashel.

CENTURY
6—12.

other increase.' And this was explained and enlarged a few years after, by a sweeping commentary of the Dublin synod, as including the tithes of provision, hay, flax, wool, the young of animals, and the produce of gardens and orchards.

The great
ecclesiastical
revolution

It was also enacted that all the faithful should pay a third of their moveable goods for a solemn burial, and for vigils and masses for the repose of their souls, and that, if they died unmarried, or without legitimate children, the bequest should be increased to one half.

Such was the splendid bribe conferred on the traitorous Church of Ireland. Its extensive lands protected from injury. A full tenth of the produce of all other lands, and more than the third of all moveable property! Wherever the law or the arms of England prevailed, all these privileges were respected, while in other parts of the island, the Magnates followed their old usages, representing the new tythe-system, levying contributions, and overwhelming their clergy with the honour of their unceremonious visits, regardless alike of King and Pontiff. The result of the council of Cashel was, that the Irish Church should be assimilated in its rites and discipline to that of England; but we are informed by the decisive testimony of Dr. Lanigan, that wherever the natives maintained their independence, '*Clergy and people followed their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the synod of Cashel had never been held.*'

Origin of the
two churches
in Ireland.

Such was the origin of the *two Churches in Ireland*. The one the Church of the Anglo-Popish aristocracy, and of the ascendant party, the other the Church of the Irish clergy and people. The former, though a plant of foreign growth, had certain facilities for striking root, and overwhelming a rival in the night-shade of its branches, which

the genius of Christianity did not allow to its opponent. Yet notwithstanding every disadvantage, the native Church continued for three centuries, and discovered even some languishing symptoms of life as late as the reign of Henry the seventh.

CENTURY
7—12.

There is yet extant a bull of Pope Innocent the eighth, dated the eighth of February 1484, for the erection of a collegiate Church at Galway. It recites ‘that the people of the parish of St. Nicholas were civilized men, living in a walled town, and observing the decency, rites, and customs of the Church of England, and that their customs differed from those of the wild Highlandmen of that nation, who harassed them, so that they could not hear the offices, or receive the sacraments of the Church, according to the form which [they and their ancestors of old time were accustomed to follow.]’ Then follows the enactment, ‘that the college shall consist of one warden and eight presbyters, all civilized men, and duly holding the rites and order of the Church of England in the celebration of divine service.’

It is obvious from this document, that those ‘*wild Irish highlanders*,’ as the pontiff rather uncourteously styles them, still adhered to their own religious ceremonies, or at least had not yet conformed to the Roman ritual.

Even in the next reign we discover a circumstance which proves that the ancient Irish Church was still in existence, and this at the very dawn of the Reformation. Soon after Wolsey had been created a Pope’s legate *a latere*, he manufactured a supply of bulls and dispensations for the Irish market; but of this cargo, Allen wrote to him a complaining account, stating that the commodities went off slowly, ‘the Irish,’ he says, ‘had so little sense of religion, that they married within the pro-

CENTURY
7—12.

Cox, p. 210,
quoting from
lib. c. c. c.
Lambeth.

hibited degrees,* without dispensations ; they also questioned his grace's authority in Ireland, especially outside the pale.'

* All this outcry raised against the Irish Church at different periods originated in the fact, that its prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity, were regulated according to *the Levitical Law* ; whereas the table of degrees adopted by the Church of Rome is *much more extensive* ; and, contrary to the practice of that church : divorces were allowed in Ireland, for the cause of fornication.—(Concilii sub S. Patricio, can. 26, et 29.) Romanists believe marriage to be a sacrament, and therefore indissoluble ; Divorces a mensa et thoro, are indeed allowed, but not divorces a vinculo conjugii.

PART II.

FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SECULAR HISTORY OF IRELAND CONTINUED—PARTIAL REDUCTION OF IRELAND UNDER HENRY II.—STRONGBOW, &c. THE REAL CONQUERORS—THE ENORMOUS GRANTS OF HENRY AND HIS SUCCESSORS—THE VIOLATION OF FAITH TO THE IRISH PRINCES—THE WHOLE ISLAND DIVIDED AMONG TEN ENGLISH FAMILIES—THE DIVISION OF THE INHABITANTS OF IRELAND—THE IRISH STIPULATED WITH HENRY II. FOR THE USE OF THEIR OWN LAWS—THE CONQUERORS THEMSELVES BROUGHT INTO CAPTIVITY—THE FAMILY OF DE BURGH FELL OFF FROM THEIR OBEDIENCE TO ENGLAND—IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VII THE ENGLISH PALE WAS REDUCED TO FOUR COUNTIES.

THE second period of Irish history commences with the partial reduction of Ireland, under the dominion of Henry II, in the twelfth century, though not achieved by his own efforts. He had little to do in it, beyond receiving the homage of the Irish Princes, and granting charters to his English nobility. Strongbow, De Lacy, and Fitzstephens, were the real conquerors, through whom alone any portion of Irish territory was gained by arms, or by treaty; and

CENTURY
12—16.

The secular history of Ireland continued. Partial reduction of Ireland.

Strongbow, &c.

CENTURY
12—16.

as they began the enterprize without the king, they carried it on for themselves, deeming their swords a better security than his charters. This ought to be continually kept in mind, as revealing the secret of the English government over Ireland, and furnishing a justification of what had the appearance of a negligent abandonment of its authority.

The few Barons, and other adventurers, who by dint of forces, hired by themselves, and in some instances, by conventions with the Irish, settled their armed colonies in the island, thought they had done much for Henry II, in causing his name to be acknowledged, his administration to be established in Dublin, and in holding their lands by his grant. They claimed in their turn, according to the practice of all nations, and principles of equity, that those who had borne the heat of the battle, should enjoy the spoil without molestation.

The enormous grants
of Henry II.

Hence the enormous grants of Henry and his successors, though so often censured for impolicy, were probably, what they could scarcely avoid; and though not perhaps absolutely stipulated, as the price of titular sovereignty, were something very like it. But what is to be censured, and what at all hazards, they were bound to refuse, was the violation of their faith to the Irish princes, in sharing among these insatiable Barons, their ancient territories, which, setting aside the wrong of the first invasion, were protected by their homage and submission, and sometimes by positive conventions.

Davies, p.
135.

The violation
of faith to
the Irish
Princes.

The whole island in fact, with the exception of the county of Dublin, and the maritime towns, was divided before the end of the thirteenth century, and most of it in the twelfth, among ten English families. Earl Strongbow, who had some colour of hereditary title, according to

The whole
island
divided.

our notions of law, by his marriage with the daughter of Dermot, King of Leinster, obtained a grant of that province. De Lacy acquired Meath, which was not considered a part of Leinster at that period, but a kingdom in itself. In the same way, the whole of Ulster was given to De Courcy, the whole of Connaught to De Burg, and the rest to six others. These, it must be understood, they were to hold in a sort of feudal tenure, parcelling them among their tenants of English race, and expelling the natives, or driving them into the worst parts of the country by an incessant warfare.

The Irish chieftains, though compelled to show some exterior signs of submission to Henry, never thought of renouncing their own authority, or the customs of their forefathers: nor did he pretend to interfere with the government of the Septs; content with their promise of homage and tribute, neither of which, they afterwards ever paid. But in those parts of Ireland which had been really conquered, his aim was, to establish the English laws, and to render it, in all its civil constitution, similar to that of England. The colony from England was already not inconsiderable, and was likely to increase. The Ostmen, who inhabited the maritime towns, came very willingly, as all settlers of Teutonic origin have done, into English customs and language; and upon this basis, leaving the accession of the Aboriginal people to future contingencies, he raised the edifice of the Irish constitution.

The inhabitants of Ireland in those days may be classed under the following denominations. The first, and most numerous, were the native population who never submitted to the English government, and from their being in a state of constant warfare with it, were called *Irish enemies*; and, likewise who from their attach-

CENTURY
12—16.

ment to the religion of their forefathers, were looked upon, by the Romish Church, now for the first time forced upon the country, as *heretics* of the very worst description. Secondly, the Anglo-Norman adventurers, who had obtained a grant of nearly the entire kingdom, but had subjected to their authority but a very small proportion of it; these were called *liege men, or good subjects*. In the course of time, however, many of the leading men among them adopted the Irish habit and customs, renounced the English laws and institutions, and finally took up arms against the state, these were called *Rebels*. And finally the Romish hierarchy, who had been now raised, in consequence of their apostacy from the ancient faith, to a higher rank than the native princes. The two latter, though occasionally quarrelling with each other, over the division of the spoils, carried on a most determined and bloody warfare with the native population, and with the crown of England, whenever its power was exerted in favour of the persecuted Irish, or to restrain their licentious habits.

Division of
the inhabi-
tants.

In consequence of this pernicious separation of the two races, the Irish priests, who generally followed their own rules, had little or no intercourse with their bishops, who were nominated by the king, so that their synods are commonly recited to have been holden ‘*inter anglicos*,’ among the English. The bishops themselves were generally intruded by violence, and more often dispossessed by it. A total ignorance and neglect prevailed in the Church, so much so, that it was even found impossible to recover a succession of names in many of the Sees in Ireland. ‘What comyn folke in all this world, is so poor, so feeble, so well besyn in toon and fylde, so bestyal, so greatly oppressed, and trodden under foot, as the comyn folke of Ireland.’

State papers,
Henry VIII.

The native chiefs, when pressed by the inroads of the Norman Barons, and despoiled frequently of lands, secured to them by grant or treaty, had recourse to the throne for protection, and would in all probability have submitted without repining to a sovereign who could have afforded it. But John and Henry III, in whose reigns the independence of the aristocracy was almost complete, though insisting by writs and proclamations on a due observance of the laws, could do little more for their new subjects, who found a better chance of redress in standing on their own defence. The powerful clans of the north enjoyed their liberty, but those of Munster and Leinster, intermixed with the English, and encroached upon, from every side, were the victims of constant injustice; and abandoning the open country for bog and mountain pasture, grew more poor and barbarous, in the midst of the general advance of Europe. Many remained under the yoke of English Lords, and in a worse state than that of villenage, because still less protected by the tribunals of justice.*

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* The system of the Irish Chieftains, whom Henry II found in Ireland, continued rather to degenerate than improve. Through the whole of the interval from Henry the second to Henry the eighth, they submitted to an English monarch, as they had done before to one of the Milesian line, with the same readiness, the same inconstancy, and the same reservations. They acknowledged him as the centre of their federal union—a theoretic union, which their petty hostilities were constantly violating; as a superior, whose pre-eminence they attested by a slight tribute, or occasional military service, and whose reciprocal good offices they looked for in their difficulties and disputes. This was the amount of his sovereignty; it could not, or would not, be understood by those sturdy lords, that he was to invade their precious right of mutual slaughter, or mitigate the internal anarchy of their dominions.

The great English lords were no less resolute than the Irish, in

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The Irish stipulated with Henry II. for the use of their own laws.

The Irish unfortunately had originally stipulated with Henry II, for the use of their own laws. They were consequently held beyond the pale of English justice, and

their opposition to the sovereign, and their oppression of the people. Adventurers of reckless and ferocious habits, distinguished from the worst of the native Chiefs by nothing but their superior skill in the arts of predatory warfare, they had conquered without the aid of the king, and were determined to govern without his interference. The honorary title of Lord of Ireland excited neither their ambition, nor their jealousy ; perhaps they were pleased with the existence of a claimant, whose rank, while it placed him above competition, extinguished all pretensions to supremacy among themselves, and whose residence in another country left their movements uncontrolled. These dutiful subjects claimed only to be the irresponsible deputies of their master, to enjoy the fulness of sovereign power, each within the circle which his sword had traced,—and from a multitude of causes, they were able to dictate the terms of their contumacious loyalty.

Some of them, as the two great branches of the de Burgo family, the Geraldines of Kerry, and the Birminghams, Lords of Athonry, renounced the language, laws and usages of the mother country. They had been smitten with the barbaric power, and unlimited sway of the native Chieftains, and they became Chieftains themselves ; assumed Irish appellations, and moulded their motley followers into the form of Irish tribes. Others, retaining the English name, and something of English manners, acquired at a less price nearly equal dominion. In the space of thirty years after the first descent, eight palatinates, comprehending two-thirds of the English settlements, were erected in Ireland. There was afterwards added a ninth, the county Tipperary, the splendid domain of the Earls of Ormond. *Within* these districts, the lords possessed all royal rights, created knights, and even barons, appointed their own judges, sheriffs, seneschals, and escheators, collected their own revenues, and held their own courts for the determination of all causes :—*without*, they exercised the detestable prerogative of waging civil war in all quarters of the island.

Armed with these enormous powers, they proceeded to reduce and

regarded as aliens at the best ; sometimes as enemies, in our courts. Thus, as by the Brehon law, murder was only punished by a fine, it was not held felony to kill one of Irish race, unless he had conformed to the English laws, both civil and ecclesiastical.*

exterminate their own countrymen of the middle class, who had presumed to set an example of comfort and independence. Many of these fled ; their lands were seized by the lords and parcelled out among the conquered Irish, to be held on Irish tenures ; many others surrendered a part of their property, in the hope of being allowed the quiet possession of the remainder ; but this grace was refused, and they were gradually broken in spirit and circumstances to the villanage of the native population. This was the state of things, in the aboriginal clans, in the revolted septs of Anglo-Irish, and except within a few garrison towns, in the counties palatinate, from Henry the second until Henry the eighth.'—(Phelan, Introduction, p. viii.)

* On looking over 'a memoir on Ireland, native and SAXON, by Daniel O'Connell Esq., M.P. with a biographical sketch of the author by J. H. Whelan,' I was much struck with the circumstance, of his introducing the Saxons into it, who had nothing whatever to do with Ireland. The Normans were the real invaders, and whatever assistance they might have received, was not from the Saxons, but from the ancient Britons in Wales. Perhaps it was deemed necessary to sprinkle a small portion of the 'the gall of bitterness' into the cup of Irish misery, and therefore the Saxon is introduced. The hatred to the Saxon originated, not in any thing that was done by them against the Irish, for they were in general well disposed towards them, but from the fact of the Irish language being prohibited by law, and the Saxon or English introduced in its place. Hence the word Sassenagh, or Saxon, so frequently used at the late repeal meetings.

With the true jesuitical casuistry of his school, Mr. O'Connell identifies the wars of Elizabeth and James the first, with the three and a half centuries of Romish domination ; and in so doing the learned historian gives only three pages and a half, of twenty-one lines in each, to a period of four hundred and forty years of the

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The conquerers
themselves
brought into
captivity.

In the course of time, these conquerors were themselves brought under a moral captivity of the most disgraceful nature; but not as the rough soldier of Rome is said to

most important era in the history of Ireland, and these three and a half pages, are almost entirely taken up, with the assertion that, ‘the success of the forces of Queen Elizabeth was achieved by means the most horrible, treachery, murder, wholesale massacre, and deliberately-created famine.’—Now the case of Ireland before the reformation was directly the reverse in every respect; with Ireland, after that important event; and on that account alone, the true historical division ought to have been made, from the Norman invasion in the twelfth century to the reformation in the sixteenth, and the second division, from the reformation to the present day. In the former period (to use the language of Mr. O’Connell) ‘the plunder, the robbery, the domestic treachery, the ordinary wholesale slaughters, the planned murders, the concerted massacres, which had been inflicted on the Irish people,’ was the sole aggressive work of the Norman popish aristocracy, lay and ecclesiastic, against the *heretical* Irish; the government of England being at the same time totally unable to restrain them. In the latter period, the same aggressive work was carried on against the *British nation*, by the descendants of the same popish aristocracy, now for the first time deprived of their usurped power, and thrown back on their former Irish enemies, with whom having formed ‘a compact alliance,’ assisted by the Pope, and his Italian banditti, and supported by the army and navy of Spain, then the most powerful nation in Europe, they united together to dethrone our excommunicated Queen, and take away her life, and dominions, now conferred on the King of Spain, by the Pope of Rome.

‘During the 440 years that intervened, between the commencement of the English dominion in 1172, and its completion in 1612, the Irish people’ (continues Mr. O’Connell) ‘were known only as “the Irish enemies.” They were denominated Irish enemies;—in all the royal proclamations, “royal charters” and acts of parliament during that period, it was their legal and technical description.’—(page 19, and 20.)

During the 368 years of Romish domination, this statement

have been subdued by the art and learning of Greece ; the Anglo-Norman Barons, that had wrested Ireland from the native possessors, fell into their barbarous usages,

appears in some degree correct, but from the time that Henry VIII, had asserted his claim to the entire sovereignty of Ireland, and *supreme headship of the Church on earth*, and which was joyfully accepted by ‘all sorts and conditions of men’ in the kingdom, all such names and distinctions ceased from that day.

Again Mr. O’Connell proceeds, ‘During that time any person of English descent might murder a mere Irishman or woman, with perfect impunity. Such murder was no more a crime in the eye of the law, than the killing of a rabid, or ferocious animal. There was indeed this distinction, that if a native Irishman made legal submission, and had been received into English allegiance, he could no longer be murdered with impunity ; for his murderer was punishable by a small pecuniary fine. A punishment not for the moral crime of murdering a man, but for the social injury of depriving the state of a servant just as at no remote period, the white man, in several of our West Indian Colonies, was liable to pay a fine for killing a negro, only because *an owner* was thereby deprived of a slave.’—(page 21.)

Romanism was not quite so bad in those days as Mr. O’Connell represents it ; the facts of the case are as follows : ‘The Irish had originally stipulated with Henry II for the use of their own laws. By the Brehon law murder was only punished by a fine. It was not held felony to kill one of the Irish race, *unless he had conformed to the English law*. Five septs to which the royal families of Ireland belonged, the O’Neils, O’Connors, O’Brien, O’Malachlin, and MacMurrough, had the special immunity of being within the protection of our law, and it was felony to kill one of them. But besides these, a vast number of charters of denization were granted to particular persons of Irish descent, from the reign of Henry II, downwards, which gave them and their posterity, the full birthrights of English subjects, nor does there seem to have been any difficulty in procuring these. It cannot be said therefore, that the English government, or those who represented it in Dublin, displayed any reluctance to emancipate the Irish from their thralldom. Whatever

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and emulated the vices of the vanquished. The degeneracy of the English settlers began very soon, and continued to increase for several ages. They intermarried with the Irish. They connected themselves with them by the national custom of fostering, which formed an artificial relationship of the strictest nature. They spoke the Irish language. They affected the Irish dress, and manner of wearing the hair. They even adopted in some instances Irish surnames. They harassed their tenants with every Irish exaction and tyranny. They administered Irish law, if any at all: they became *Chieftains*, rather than *Peers*, and neither regarded the king's summons to his parliament, nor paid any obedience to his judges.

The family of
De Burgh
fell off.

Thus the great family of de Burgh or Burke in Connaught, fell off almost entirely from subjection; nor was that of the Earl of Desmond, a younger branch of the house of Geraldine, or Fitzgerald, much less independent of the crown, though by the title it enjoyed and the palatine franchises granted to it, by Edward III, over the counties of Limerick and Kerry, it seemed to keep up more show of English allegiance. The elder branch of their house, the Earls of Kildare, and another illustrious family, the Butlers, Earls of Ormond, were apparently, more steady to their obedience to the crown, yet in the great franchises of the latter, comprising the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, the king's writ had no course, nor did he exercise any civil or military authority, but by the permission of this mighty peer.

Davis, p. 193.

Thus in the reign of Henry VII, when the English authority over Ireland had reached its lowest point, it obstruction might be interposed to this, was from that (Romish) assembly, whose concurrence was necessary to every general measure, the Anglo-Irish parliament.'—(Hallam iii, p. 255, 256.)

was, with the exception of a very few sea-ports, to all intents confined to the four counties of the English pale, those of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, and Meath. But even in these, there were extensive marches, or frontier districts, the inhabitants of which were hardly distinguished from the Irish, and paid them a tribute, called *black rent*; so that the real supremacy of the English laws, was not probably established beyond the two first of these counties, from Dublin to Dundalk on the coast, and for about thirty miles inland.*

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The English
pale reduced.

Davis, p. 199,
229, 236.

From the foregoing sketch of Irish History during the three centuries and a half of Romish domination, we cannot find that systematic oppression and misrule, which is every day imputed to the English nation, and its government. The policy of our kings appears to have generally been wise and beneficent; but they possessed

* A level district round the capital, containing the small shires of Louth, Meath, Kildare and Dublin, limited the range of the English law, the jurisdiction of the Viceroy, and except on some rare occasions, the ambition of the crown. Far from indulging schemes of more extended authority, the conscious weakness of royalty took refuge in a ludicrous, but humiliating fiction; all beyond this pomærium was presumed not to be in existence, and in court language *the land of Ireland* was synonymous with *the pale*. Of the pale itself, an ample stripe, comprehending a third, and sometimes a half of each country, was *border land*; in which a mixed code of English, Brehon, and Martial law, and of such points of honour as are recognized among free-booters, suspended for a season the final appeal to the sword. Even between these penumbral regions, and the castle of Dublin, there lived some little despots, who, according to the turn of affairs were counsellors, colleagues, or opponents, of the English monarch; and so late as the reign of Henry the seventh, the rebel Earl of Kildare was taken from the tower of London, ‘to govern all Ireland, because all Ireland could not govern the Earl.’—(Phelan’s Introduction, p. x.)

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not the power, they were merely the nominal lords of Ireland, when in fact, the Romish aristocracy, lay and ecclesiastical, were the real sovereigns of the pale, and the O'Neils, and O'Connors, or the degenerate houses of Burke and Fitzgerald, were the real despots of the country. 'The tale of woe' (as a Roman Catholic writer justly expresses it,) of Ireland's miseries, and they were great and many, of that day and of *the present*, originated, not from the power, but from the weakness of England.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HISTORY OF ROMANISM IN IRELAND—LAURENCE O'TOOLE, THE FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN—HIS ALLEGIANCE TO HENRY II. SUSPECTED—HIS IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH—THE NEXT ARCHBISHOP PLACES THE CITY OF DUBLIN UNDER AN INTERDICT—AN APPEAL TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL—THE CLERGY VICTORIOUS—THE ZEAL OF THE BISHOP OF FERNS IN BEHALF OF THE REVENUES OF HIS SEE—DISPUTE BETWEEN THE BISHOP OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE—THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN APPOINTED LORD JUSTICE AND LEGATE TO THE HOLY SEE—HE EXTENDS THE JURISDICTION OF THE SPIRITUAL COURTS—THE CITIZENS OPPRESSED, APPEAL TO THE KING—THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PRELATES—A CURIOUS PETITION OF A WIDOW IN THE FOLLOWING REIGN—KING JOHN'S CHARTER—THE UNQUALIFIED SUBMISSION OF THE NATIVE IRISH TO EDWARD THE FIRST, WITH AN OFFER OF 8000 MARKS, ON THE CONDITION OF BEING RECEIVED AS FAITHFUL LIEGEMEN—THE OFFER EVADED—A SECOND PETITION TO THE SAME EFFECT AGAIN EVADED.

FROM the sketch now given of the secular history of Ireland, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, we may be enabled to comprehend more fully the subsequent ecclesiastical history of the same period.

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We have now arrived at a very peculiar period in the history of the Irish Church. Romanism, for the first time, is presented to our view, as the established religion of the country, and that under the most favourable cir-

Romanism
in Ireland.

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cumstances. Endowed with wealth beyond that of any Church in Europe, her Prelates exalted in rank above the petty sovereigns of the land, we might naturally suppose that peace and harmony would exist to the fullest extent between the two countries, now joined together in the bonds of the same religion.

But what are the facts of the case? scarcely had Henry returned to his hereditary dominions, when the bishops, presuming on the services they had performed, began to embarrass and insult the Irish government. It had been stipulated in Adrian's Bull, that the borders of the church should be enlarged; an expression which does not mean in the phraseology of these men, that religion should be extended, but that more property should be conferred on the ecclesiastics; and these bishops 'having sold the independence of their native country, and the birthright of their people,' like most agents of that description, were impatient for their reward, justly thinking that their own treachery stood higher in the scale of iniquity, than the open transgression of strangers, and looking for a proportionate share of the spoil; and now when they found (or imagined) their merits undervalued, they assumed airs of patriotism.

J.K.L.
Vindication,
p. 31.

1179.—
Lawrence
O'Toole.

His allegi-
ance to
Henry II:

Lanigan, vol.
iv. p. 238.

Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, was the most conspicuous in this new character. After some years of ostentatious attachment to the British Monarch, this prelate appeared as his accuser at the Council of Lateran, supported by a deputation of five other bishops. They had all sworn allegiance at Cashel; and the King, suspecting their intentions, arrested their progress through England, and exacted a second oath, that they would do nothing at the council prejudicial to his interests; but the ardour with which they were inspired, overcame every

obstacle. Some Irish writers assert, that Lawrence obtained a revocation of the papal grant to Henry : however that may be, it is certain, that his complaints were loud, and well received ; ‘ He exerted himself,’ says a contemporary, ‘ with all the zeal of his nation, for the privileges of the church, and against the King’s authority.’ And the Pope, in acknowledgment of his eminent services, raised him to the dignity of apostolic legate.

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O’Sullivan
Beare’s Ca-
tholic His-
tory, p. 62.

Giraldus
Cambrensis,
ut infra.

Thus armed with new powers of mischief, Lawrence set out for Ireland ; but Henry wisely prevented his return, and the disappointed agitator of that day, passed the remainder of his days in Normandy. The monkish writer of his life, with that affected compassion for the misery of Irishmen, which the sad experience of so many centuries has not yet taught them to despise, gives these as his last words,—‘ Ah ! foolish, and senseless people, what will now become of you ? who will heal your sufferings ? who will relieve you ?’ This manifold traitor to his church, his country, his native prince,* and the sovereign of his own election, was in due season canonized ; and his saintly

His impris-
onment and
death.

* The most active and efficient opponent of the English was Lawrence O’Toole, the Archbishop. He wrote to Roderic, to Godfrey, King of the Isle of Man ; to the Princes of the neighbouring isles, (many of whom were Irishmen) and also to all the princes and lords of the provinces throughout Ireland, exhorting them to rally round their monarch, that by one combined and determined effort, they might expel from their country the dangerous invaders.

The archbishop’s character and influence gained all he wished for, Godfrey and the other island-chieftains assembled their forces, and with thirty ships they blocked up the harbour of Dublin, while Roderic with a great army encamped near the city. Even the Archbishop himself commanded a troop on this occasion, (although, as the historian observes, it had been more befitting his holy calling to have assisted with his prayers than his arms.)

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protection is still invoked by our titular hierarchy with a publicity which displays the unshaken constancy of the order.

Amidst the public cares which had engaged Lawrence during his visit to Rome, he retained sufficient presence of mind to obtain from the Pope a grant—the parties called it a *confirmation*—of most extensive possessions in lands, villages, and parishes, in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Though the firmness of the English monarch prevented the prelate himself from returning to enjoy this splendid endowment, it was all claimed, of course, by his successor. But in the mean time Haymo de Valois, prince John's deputy in the government, had set up a counter-claim for some of the lands; whether in the name of his master, in his own, or in that of the ancient proprietor, does not now appear. Comyn, the successor of St. Lawrence, being thus excluded from possession, excommunicated de Valois and all the other members of the administration, and not content with this vengeance upon the transgressors, laid the unoffending city and diocese under an interdict.*

The city of
Dublin under
an interdict.

To indicate that the passion of Christ had been renewed, in the indignity offered to his minister, he caused the crucifixes of the cathedral to be laid prostrate on the ground, with crowns of thorns on the heads of the images; and one of the figures was pointed out as the miraculous representative of the suffering Redeemer, the face inflamed, the eyes dropping tears, the body bathed in sweat, and the side pouring forth blood and water. In the end the Lord Deputy was obliged to yield; and as an atonement for his former injuries, made a donation of twenty ploughlands to the see of Dublin.†

Leland i.164,
Lanigan iv.
332.

* An interdict is a suspension of all religious rites.

† This is the first of the many instances we have on record, of

The next Archbishop of the same see was equally resolute. The clergy of Dublin having claimed some exorbitant fees, under the specious title of oblations of the faithful, were opposed by the magistrates and citizens, who had just before successfully resisted a demand of the crown. An interdict upon the whole city, and special anathemas against the offending persons, were the immediate consequences of this insubordination. The people appealed to the Lord Deputy, and the cause received a formal hearing before the privy council; but here the clergy were triumphant, and their adversaries reduced to a very ludicrous composition. It was agreed that in cases of open scandal, such as that of opposition to the priesthood, a commutation in money should be made for the first offence; that for the second, the culprit should be cudgelled round the parish church; for the third, the same discipline should be repeated publicly at the head of a procession; and if the obstinacy proceeded far-

CENTURY
12—16.
A. D. 1220.

The Privy
Council.
The clergy
victorious.

the weak and vacillating policy that has marked the conduct of the British government in Ireland, from the twelfth century to the present day. If the Normans had pursued the same line of conduct in Ireland, which proved so successful in England, Ireland would have been, in all human probability, as prosperous and happy, as any country in Europe.

The fact is, Ireland before the Reformation was never conquered. A small part of it within the pale was merely occupied by British troops, and the King of England was the nominal 'Lord of the Isle,' while the Pope was 'ipso facto,' the sovereign of the country; and just in proportion as this policy was pursued, and which originated in the weakness of England, turbulence and disaffection followed as a matter of course in its train; and as we proceed in the history of Ireland, we can perceive the fatal effects of this same policy, running through the entire course of England's connection with that country.

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Leland i.
p. 237.

ther, that he should be either disfranchised, or cudgelled through the city. Such were the citizens, whom the king of England had thought it necessary to pacify, by an apology for his conduct, and a promise of redress of grievances.*

* After seven centuries of misrule, what a melancholy impression it must leave on every well-principled mind, to witness in our own day, a continuation of that policy, which has reduced Ireland to its present deplorable condition. In July 1843, Sir James Graham, stung to the quick by the conduct of the Romish and Radical party in the House of Commons, started up on the spur of the moment, influenced no doubt by a feeling of generous regret, and exclaimed,

‘In 1829 we passed the Catholic emancipation act ; in 1831 the Reform act ; in 1833 the Church temporalities act, by which a large diminution was made in the hierarchy of that Church. We then passed the tithe commutation act, by which the amount of tithes was diminished twenty-five per cent. After this the education plan was adopted for Ireland.

‘These were large measures of concession, which are now declared to be unavailing, so long as the Protestant Church exists in Ireland. I, for my part, was always a steady advocate for the rights of my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. I supported their claims. I believed in the declarations made by their nobility and leading men. I believed *in the solemn oaths of their prelates*. I trusted to the assurance given by them, in solemn evidence before solemn tribunals, that if equality as citizens was given them, they would rest satisfied with the union, and the Protestant Church should be safe.’

‘While reading these passages,’ (says the Editor of the Dublin Mail,) ‘we could not avoid indulging a hope, that the mist, which had obscured his vision and obstructed his discernment of the difference between friends and foes, was about to be dissipated, and that the general interests of Britain would no longer be sacrificed, in vain attempts to make friends of those, whom neither oaths can bind nor the utmost yielding can conciliate.

The blow however went home to the hearts of the Romanists. These gentlemen declared ‘that they were insulted, and that the debate must be adjourned to give the Catholic members time to cool.’

The following anecdote of the contemporary bishop of Ferns, is a graver instance of the zeal which animated the hierarchy of those days. This prelate had excommunicated the great earl of Pembroke, on the pretence, that he had

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The zeal of
the bishop
of Ferns.

The house to be sure received the anger of ‘the gentlemen,’ with shouts of laughter; but still poor Sir James, was obliged to eat up his own words, and not only to declare, that ‘he thought that the declarations made by the Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, were well founded and sincere, when they gave them, and that he had no doubt now, that they were perfectly sincere, but even to argue from the principles of human nature (alas! poor human nature) that Roman Catholics, could not be satisfied with an equality of civil rights.’

‘Again,’ continues Sir James Graham, ‘when I said, that concession had been carried to the utmost, what did I mean to express? I meant to say that concession had been carried to a very great, and extraordinary length, considering the space of time over which it ranged!’ It was Sir James Graham, who thus pitifully attempted to evade the consequences of having, in an unguarded moment, committed (that which is now-a-days) a great political fault, in disclosing his real sentiments.

‘It is to the mercy of men, who have thus shewn themselves capable of swallowing their own words, in the face of the world; ‘who (in the language of Mr. Macaulay) have drank to the dregs the cup of humiliation, which they mixed for themselves,—it is to such men, that the guardianship of the liberties, and the property of the protestant people of Ireland have been committed.’ Thus Sir James Graham, like the citizens of Dublin in former days, after being cudgelled through the house, thought it necessary, like the king, to pacify his opponents by an apology for his conduct, and the premier followed him, with a promise of redress of grievances.

How different was the conduct of my Lord Brougham, in the same session of parliament, when Lord Camoys, a Roman Catholic peer, of recent creation, spoke as follows,—‘What was the foundation of the grievances of the Irish people? the Church; the Church has been called the monster grievance; the cause of all the evils under which Ireland laboured; the obstacle to redress. An anomaly such as

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seized two manors belonging to his church; and upon the death of that nobleman, appeared before the king, to claim restitution. Being ordered to pronounce an absolution at the earl's tomb, he attended the king thither,

had never been known in any other country. The badge of slavery, the badge of conquest, &c., the Church was the perpetual obstacle to all improvement in Ireland: he was convinced that agitation would not subside, and the grievances of the Irish people would never be satisfactorily redressed so long as the existing Protestant Church established in Ireland was maintained.' ¹

Such are said to have been the words of Lord Camoys, 'words'—exclaimed Lord Brougham, 'which I heard with unfeigned astonishment;—with an astonishment equal to that impressed on the mind of my noble friend opposite, (the Earl of Winchilsea) for, differing from my noble friend opposite "*toto cælo*," on the subject of the Catholic claims, I had been one of those who held cheap in those days the predictions of my noble friend opposite, and of the other adversaries of the Catholics. I had been one of those, who held cheap all their prophecies, that no sooner should the Catholic claims be granted, than some such speeches as we have heard to night, would not fail to resound through the walls of parliament. This prophecy, I grieve to say, has been fulfilled, and my hope has

¹ The Earl of Kenmare said he agreed perfectly in all that had fallen from the lips of my Lord Camoys.

It is a curious fact that the first of Lord Kenmare's family in Ireland, was a Valentine Brown, an English Protestant, employed by Queen Elizabeth, as a commissioner of forfeited estates; and in the cutting up of the great Desmond property, a portion of course fell to the lot of the carver. 'This Brown,' says Coxe, 'wrote a notable tract on the reformation of Ireland, wherein there is nothing blameworthy, *saving that he advises the extirpation of the Irish papists*;' and therefore did not foresee that *his own heir would degenerate into an Irish papist*, and ungratefully oppose that English interest upon which his estate is founded.'—(p. 302.)

and, with judicial solemnity, pronounced these words. ‘ Oh ! William, thou that liest fast bound in the chains of ex-communication, if what thou hast injuriously taken away be restored, by the king, or thy heir, or any of thy friends, with competent satisfaction, I absolve thee. Otherwise, I ratify the sentence, that, being bound in thy sins, *thou mayest remain damned in hell for ever.*’ The heir would not surrender the disputed manors, and the bishop confirmed the malediction. Sometime after, the male line of

to night been signally frustrated. I have lived long in the world. I have seen examples of the effects of the wilful course of designing men, and of the influence they have gained by prosecuting their wicked designs, on less powerful minds, of less steady characters, of minds less capable of self-defence. I have seen both here and abroad, the effects on weak and on youthful minds, the effects of the operation of the Catholic priesthood for the accomplishment of their sinful and sordid objects, and I have seen in this country, the consequences of political seduction by similar means, and for similar objects ; but knowing as I do the honourable nature of my noble friend, his pure motives, and the candour of his disposition, I do profess and declare, that I never yet saw so melancholy and striking an exhibition in my whole life, of the effects of such invidious acts on such minds, as has this night been exhibited, by the marvellous declarations of my noble friend.’

What a pity it was, that some of our Irish lords, lay or ecclesiastic, did not remind my Lord Camoys, whose memory appears to be so treacherous, that the *Romish*, and not the Protestant Church, was ‘ *the badge of slavery, the badge of conquest* in Ireland,’ the one was *forced upon us*, at the point of the Norman lance, the other was *thankfully received* by the unanimous voice of the entire country.

To the disgraceful attempt made by Lord Campbell to argue, that the oath was not intended to bind in a legislative capacity, we might reply in the words of George III to another Scotchman of his day, ‘ None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas, I understand the oath in its plain literal meaning.’ If the oath was not intended to bind a *legislator*, why is he required to take it, when he assumes

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Leland, i.
p. 237.

Dispute be-
tween the
bishop of
Waterford
and Lismore.

the family having become extinct, it was carefully pointed out to the common people, how the curse of God had followed the imprecation of his minister.

While the Romish party in Ireland were thus keeping the throne itself in vassalage, the most scandalous enormities disgraced the Church itself. In 1210, the bishops of Waterford and Lismore had a dispute concerning certain lands, alleged by each to be the property of his see. The affair was referred to commissioners, appointed, not by the government, *but by the Pope*, and these having condemned the bishop of Waterford, that prelate, enraged at their decision, formed a plot for seizing the bishop of Lismore^f; and accordingly, having besieged his cathedral, while he was engaged in divine service, he hurried him away, and cast him into a dungeon in Dungarvan, loaded with irons, and further sorely afflicted him while there, with hunger and thirst, and many other cruel indignities.

Hitherto, we have seen the bishops contending with their armed associates and with each other, for the spoils, and almost over the bodies of their common victims. But time had now begun to mark out prescriptive limits to their estates; and accordingly, henceforward other desires are gradually unfolded, and other objects engage the growing ambition of the church.

A. D. 1220.

The Archbishop of Dublin having been appointed Lord Justice, and about the same time, Legate of the Holy See, employed all the power which these offices gave him, in

that capacity. If it binds him only to obey the law, why is not every member of parliament required to take it, and why is it restricted to Roman Catholics? The truth is, the danger apprehended was from *legislation*, for Romanists had been admitted to the bar, to the army and navy, and to vote for members of parliament, long before.

extending the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts. The citizens, oppressed by these new tribunals, appealed to the king, Henry III, who wrote a sharp, but ineffectual letter to his deputy. The civil sword was then transferred to the hands of a layman, but the clergy persevered in their career of usurpation; and after eleven years of silent endurance, the monarch was compelled to issue a writ, which affords a striking proof of the ascendancy they had attained.

‘The King, to his earls, barons, knights, freemen, and all others of his land of Ireland, greeting: Whereas it is clearly known to be contrary to our crown and dignity, and to the laws and customs of our kingdom of England, which our father King John, of worthy memory, established in the said land, that pleas should be held in court christian, touching the advowsons of churches and chapels, or lay fee, or chattels, unless such as may accrue from wills or marriages; we therefore straitly charge you, that you by no means presume to sue such pleas aforesaid in court christian, to the manifest prejudice of our crown and dignity; and we give you to know for certain, that we have enjoined our chief justice of Ireland, to enforce the statutes of our courts of England against all transgressions of this our mandate, and to execute whatsoever pertaineth to us in this matter.’

The king, it would seem, was afraid to provoke the prelates by opposing himself directly to their aggressions. He consulted for his dignity as well as he dared, by attacking them through his nobles, knights, and freemen, who were thus not only worried by an arrogant priesthood, but upbraided by a feeble prince, for ‘presuming’ to submit to a power which held the throne itself in vassalage.

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12—16.

The Archbishop of Dublin appointed Lord Justice and Legate of the Holy See. Jurisdiction of the spiritual courts. An appeal to the king. Prin's Animadversions on the Fourth Institute, quoted by Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, p. 58.

Contest between the King and the prelates. Cox, p. 62.

CENTURY
12—16.

A. D. 1266.

Towards the close of this long reign, the heir apparent, who had been created 'Lord of Ireland' by his father, had the courage to confront the true authors of the evil. History has not informed us with the effect of this spirited reprimand. 'It pertains' he says, 'to the royal dignity, that *all* pleas of a certain description, should be reserved to our civil courts; we therefore prohibit you from holding such pleas against our citizens of Dublin.' In the capital, where the image of royalty might inspire a little respect, and where the citizens had obtained a charter of special privileges, he makes an effort to maintain the rights of a sovereign; the rest of the island is surrendered without a struggle to the misrule of the hierarchy.

Harris,
Hibernica,
part ii. p. 60,
1276.
Petition of
a widow.

The annals of the following reign have preserved a curious petition of a widow. 'Margaret le Blunde, of Cashel, petitions our Lord the King's grace, that she may have her inheritance, which she recovered at Clonmel before the king's judges, against David MacCarwel, bishop of Cashel. Item, for the imprisonment of her grandfather and grandmother, whom he shut up, and detained in prison, until they perished by famine, because they sought redress for the death of their son, father of your petitioner, who had been killed by said bishop. Item, for the death of her six brothers and sisters, who were starved by the said bishop, because he had their inheritance in his hands at the time he killed their father. It is to be noted, that the said bishop has built an abbey in the city of Cashel, which he fills with robbers who murder the English, and lay waste the country; and, that when our Lord the King's council examine into such offences, he passes sentence of excommunication upon them. Item, it is to be noted that the said Margaret has five times crossed the Irish sea. Where-

fore she petitions for God's sake, that the King's grace will have compassion, and that she may be permitted to take possession of her inheritance. It is further to be noted, that aforesaid bishop has been guilty of the death of many other Englishmen, besides her father; and that the said Margaret has obtained many writs of our Lord the King, but to no effect, by reason of the influence and bribery of said bishop.'

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12—16.

Leland i. 234.

If these enormities, or any approaching to such a description, could be committed by the prelates upon Englishmen, we must not be surprised at any extent of suffering which may have fallen to the lot of the native population. King John, with more of wisdom and humanity than is discernible in his other actions, had granted to his Irish subjects a charter of the laws and usages of England, to the observance of which he bound the nobles by an oath. His son and successor Henry the third, confirmed this charter by a patent of the first year of his reign; eleven years after, he enforced it, in a mandate directed 'to his *archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and the bailiffs of his several counties.*' After a second interval, of eighteen years, the monarch again addressed the same personages, but in the humble tone of supplication, '*that for the sake of peace and quietness they would permit the English laws and customs to be observed in his land of Ireland.*' But neither commands nor entreaties were found availing; the lay lords of both races, preferring serfs to yeomanry, resolved to continue the horrors of the aboriginal system.

King John's
charter.

The prelates adopted a more prudent, but not more liberal course; they allowed *their own vassals* to use the English laws, in all matters which they had not reserved to their spiritual jurisdiction; and by this measure they,

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12—16.

at once, pleased the government, secured to themselves a reasonable revenue, attached their retainers, and displayed to all, *the great advantage of being under the Church*. But it was by no means their intention that a benefit, which was thus a sort of ecclesiastical privilege, should be vulgarized by indiscriminate enjoyment; and hence, we find them as hostile as the lay nobles, to the general extension of the English usages.

A. D. 1278.

In the reign of Edward the First, a few broken clans and many smaller groups of the miserable natives, the refuse of the sword and its attendant horrors, were still lingering within the precincts of the English colonies; they were pent up in those corners of their old possessions, which had not yet attracted the desires of the settlers; contemptuously tolerated in their ancient usages, but excluded from all the benefits of English law or government. Few situations could be more forlorn. On the one hand their original polity, which was so exceedingly simple, that the members of the same tribe had perhaps no civil relation to each other, except their common attraction to one chief, had crumbled away, as this central power was removed or weakened, and left them nearly, if not entirely, in a state of nature; on the other hand, they were not acknowledged as the king's subjects; the king's courts were not open to them, and if the blood of a father or brother were shed, his assassin had only to plead that the deceased was an Irishman, and he was secure from all vengeance, but that of the Almighty.

Unqualified
submission
of the native
Irish to
Edward the
First.

In the truce which had naturally arisen out of their weakness, and the sated thirst of conquest in their invaders; they received, every day, some new and mortifying proof of their own destitution, and of the manifold advantages enjoyed by Englishmen. All hope of expell-

ing the strangers had now vanished from their minds ; those feelings and circumstances which had hitherto blinded them to the defects of their Brehon code, were no longer in existence, and they resolved on the experiment of an unqualified submission. They made up a purse of eight thousand marks, which they tendered to the king, through his Irish governor, with a request that he would receive them as his faithful liegemen, and take them under the protection of the laws of England. Nothing can so well illustrate their broken-hearted wretchedness as this mode of preferring the petition. A measure so just in itself, so fair in its prospects, so full of glory to the prince, who might condescend to adopt it, was not even to be thought of, by the supplicants, unless, like too many of their unhappy posterity, they approached the seat of justice with a bribe.

King Edward's answer deserves to be given in full ; ' Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain, to our trusty and well-beloved Robert de Ufford, lord justice of Ireland, greeting : The improvement of the state and peace of our land of Ireland, signified to us, by your letter, gives us exceeding joy. We entirely commend your diligence, hoping that, by the divine assistance, the things there begun so happily by you shall, as far as in you lieth, be still further prosecuted with the greater vigour and success.

' And whereas the Irish commonalty have made a tender to us of eight thousand marks, on condition that we grant them the laws of England, to be used in the aforesaid land : we wish you to know, that inasmuch as the Irish laws are hateful to God, and repugnant to justice, it seems expedient to us and our council to grant them the laws of England ; provided always that the

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The offer
evaded.

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12—16.

general consent of our people, or at least of our prelates and nobles, of the said land, do concur in this behalf.

‘We therefore command you, that having entered into treaty with this commonalty, and inquired diligently into the will of our people, prelates and nobles in this matter; and having agreed upon *the largest fine of money* that you can obtain to be paid to us on this account, you make with the consent of all aforesaid, or at least, of the greater and sounder part thereof, such a composition touching the premises, as you shall judge in your discretion to be most expedient for our honour and interest. Provided also, that said commonalty shall hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, amounting to such a number, as you shall agree upon, for one campaign only, to repair to us, as we may see fit to demand them.’

A second
petition to
the same
effect again
evaded.

In reply to this letter, Ufford stated that the time was unsuitable; that far the greater number of the Barons were absent from the seat of government, upon the business of the state, or the defence of their lands, and that many of the others were minors; that it would therefore be impossible to collect an assembly sufficiently numerous, or respectable for so grave a deliberation. But the Irish renewed their affecting appeal, and the king issued a fresh mandate.

‘The king, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, counts, barons, knights, and other English in the land of Ireland, greeting; whereas, we have been humbly supplicated by the Irish of said land, that we would vouchsafe to grant them of our grace, that they might use, and enjoy the same common laws and customs within the land, which the English there do use and enjoy: Now we, not thinking it expedient to make such grant, without your knowledge and consent, do command you, that upon

certain days about the festival of the nativity of the blessed Virgin, and in some convenient place, you hold diligent inquiry amongst yourselves, whether or not, we can make such grant without your loss, and the prejudice of your liberties, and customs, and of all other circumstances touching such grant aforesaid; and that, before the next meeting of our parliament, to be held at Westminster, you distinctly, and fully, under the seal of our lord justice of Ireland, do advise our council what you shall determine in this matter; and you shall not be moved to omit this by reason of the absence of those peers, who may be detained away, or of those who are under age, or in a state of wardship; so that after full deliberation, we may take such course in this behalf, as to us, and our council, shall seem expedient.’

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12—16.

Given at Westminster, Sept. 10th, 1280.

Here was offered to the Church, one of those invaluable opportunities of repentance, by which the benignant wisdom of providence will sometimes extract blessings from the greatest transgressions. The king had declared in his first letter, that he would be guided by the opinion of his prelates and nobles; and in his second, that notwithstanding the inevitable absence of most of the latter, the assembling of the council should by no means be deferred; thus the ecclesiastical members, bishops, abbots, and priors, would have easily commanded a very decisive majority.* Ireland was therefore once more at the mercy of its prelates; they might now, by a vote, have almost atoned for the original baseness of their predecessors, and

* It would seem, that in those days, the spiritual lords outnumbered *the whole body* of the lay peers.

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12—16.

arrested the bloody progress of centuries of desolation. But the law of England was even then too favourable to liberty, not to be viewed with alarm by men who aimed at despotic power. On the other hand, they wished for a continuance of the inequality between the races of English and Irishmen, because in fact, it was only a gradation of servitude, and kept the ascendancy of the Church upon a higher footing. On the other, they could not tolerate a measure which, by diffusing through all classes a spirit of spontaneous attachment to the state, might diminish their own political importance. *There was to be no loyalty of which they were not the mediators.* And while overt acts of rebellion were occasionally restrained, a spirit was to be kept alive, which would render their constant interference indispensable. It cannot be ascertained from any authentic record, whether this council ever met. One thing only is certain, that the bishops defeated the good intentions of the king, and closed their ears to the groans of their countrymen.* It deserves to be added, that

* A facetious writer of our times gives the following account of this nefarious transaction, ‘In the reign of Edward the first, that part of the native population which came in immediate contact with the English settlements, and which it was, therefore, a matter of the utmost importance to conciliate, petitioned the King to adopt them, as his subjects, and to admit them under the shelter of the English law. They even tried the experiment of bribing the throne into justice. But, though the King was well inclined to accede to their request, and even ordered that a convention should be summoned to take this petition into consideration, luckily for *the lovers of discord and misrule*, his wise and benevolent intentions were not allowed to take effect. The proud barons to whom he had entrusted the government of Ireland, (or in other words, *the Orange Ascendancy of that day*) could not so easily surrender their privilege of oppression; but *preferring victims to subjects*, resolved to keep the Irish as they

about fifty years after, these Irish outcasts petitioned again for *naturalization* on their native soil, and that their application was evaded by nearly the same devices.

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12—16.

were. Edward was assured, that an immediate compliance with his commands was impossible in the present state of things; that the kingdom was in too great ferment and commotion, &c. &c.; 'and such pretences,' adds Leland, 'were sufficient, where the aristocratic faction was so powerful;'—read 'Orange faction' here, and you have the wisdom of our rulers, at the end of near six centuries, *in statu quo*.—(Memoirs of Captain Rock, pp. 20, 23.)

This ingenious gentleman has *accidentally* lightened the imputation upon the bishops, by entirely overlooking the king's second letter. It remains however, unquestionable, that the 'Orange faction' in those early days, 'the lovers of discord and misrule, who preferred victims to subjects,' were no other than the papal 'Bishops, Abbots, and Priors.' One serious and important truth, has however escaped from this pleasant writer, 'that the causes which lie at the root of Irish turbulence, are political not religious.' While the Roman Catholic hierarchy were *in*, they led the ascendancy faction, or, as he chuses to call them, Orangemen; now that they are *out*, they lead the professors of patriotism: their circumstances are changed, not their temper or policy.

In the latter character, we find, in our day, Bishop Higgins, exclaiming, 'To no aristocrat on the earth do I owe any thing, save the unbounded contempt that I have for the whole class,'—(speech at Mullingar in 1843.)

CHAPTER IX.

JEALOUSIES OCCASIONED BY THE APPOINTMENT OF ENGLISHMEN TO THE HIGHEST SITUATIONS IN THE CHURCH—BISHOPS AND CLERGY REBEL AGAINST EDWARD II. AND CROWN EDWARD BRUCE KING OF IRELAND—CHARGE OF WITCHCRAFT BROUGHT BY THE BISHOP OF OSSORY AGAINST ALICE KETLER—THE LORD DEPUTY AND LORD ARNOLD DE LA POER, INCLUDED IN THE SAME CHARGE—AWFUL CONSEQUENCES RESULTING FROM IT—EDWARD III. INCREASING THE NUMBER OF BARONS IN THE UPPER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, OBTAINED A VOTE FOR A SUBSIDY ON THE CHURCH LANDS—THE BISHOPS RESIST THE DEMAND SUCCESSFULLY.

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12—16.

A CENTURY and a half had now passed away without the realization of those ambitious hopes, which had allured the sanguine perfidy of St. Lawrence O'Toole, and his contemporaries. These hopes had been transmitted in regular descent, and with increasing bitterness of disappointment to every new succession of the Irish clergy, and a slight which they might have anticipated, but for which it does not appear that they were at all prepared, was gradually kindling a spirit of seditious discontent.

The courts of Rome and England, justly suspicious of men who, however useful as instruments for acquiring dominion, had shewn that they could not be trusted with its preservation, had from the beginning, concurred in a plan for weakening the Irish ecclesiastical interests; a few of

the most important sees, of the richest abbacies, and probably of the inferior dignities, in the church, being always filled by Englishmen. Fifteen years after the landing of the English governor, the jealousies occasioned by this questionable policy burst out in the synod of Dublin, into mutual invectives, and as the cause of these jealousies was never removed, time only strengthened the animosity of the Irish.*

CENTURY
12—16.

Jealousies
occasioned.

In the year 1250, the native prelates agreed to a regu-

* This 'questionable policy,' has been carried to a far greater extent since the Reformation, than was ever contemplated before it. The number of Englishmen, who have been sent over to Ireland, as bishops, at different periods, is prodigious; but I know not of any Irishman having been ever made an English bishop; nor is there a single instance of an Irish clergyman being appointed to any of the numerous colonial bishoprics or their dependant dignities; and amongst the Queen's chaplains, there is not one member of the University of Dublin. This of course, as Hallam remarks, has disgusted both the Irish church and people.

Primate Boulter's plan for governing Ireland was a continuation, to a greater extent than ever, of the mischievous policy pursued in Romish times; 'Send over,' says the sapient bishop, 'send over as many English-born bishops as possible.' 'The bishops,' he continues, 'are the persons on whom the government must depend for doing the public business,' (vol. i. p. 233.) This quotation from the Archbishop's letters, may in some measure point out the nature of the work intended to be done by these bishops, as well as the melancholy state of the church in those days.

The late Mr. Perceval, at one period of his political life, was anxious to appoint the late Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Magee, to an English bishoprick, wisely judging, that the author of the work on the Atonement, might be more useful in England, where the Soci-nians are so numerous, than in Ireland, where they are so few. The outcry, however, raised against the measure, was so loud and vehement, particularly among the English clergy, that the Premier was reluctantly compelled to give up the idea.

These clergymen, I suppose, were not aware that Saxon England

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lation, that no clerk of the English nation, should be received into a canonicate in any of their churches. The royal authority was exerted in vain to change this bold resolve, and some time had elapsed before the united in-

was converted to the faith of Christ principally through the instrumentality of Irish Missionaries and that the first bishops of many of the English Sees, were Irishmen ; and this was so general in the seventh century, that there could not be found in England three Romish bishops to consecrate Wilfred, Archbishop of York ; all being of Irish consecration. In consequence of this, he went over to the continent, where Romish bishops might be had, that (as William of Malmesbury saith), ‘ no drop of the blood of Irish churchmen, might by any possibility flow in his ecclesiastical veins.’ ‘ It is surprisingly strange, (says Rapin), that the conversion of the English should be ascribed to Augustin, rather than to Aiden, Finan, Fursa, and other Irish Monks, who undoubtedly laboured more than he,’ and the only return we ever received for the inestimable blessing of divine truth, was the forcible intrusion of Romanism upon us, at the point of the Norman lance.

It has been frequently and justly remarked, that when the government of England was conducted on the principles of divine truth, the country was happy and prosperous, and when the opposite system was pursued, discontent at home, and discomfiture abroad, followed in its course. We have a striking instance of the truth of this observation, in the case of that truly great man, the late Mr. Perceval. When he came into power, the country was in the lowest state of depression and defeat, but no sooner were his measures brought into operation, than the tide of affairs changed, and public confidence at home, and victory abroad, followed generally the march of the British arms, till the conclusion of the war, on the ever-memorable field of Waterloo.

In Ireland, Mr. Perceval’s administration was peculiarly blessed in giving vigour and energy to all the institutions of the land ; and had he been spared to his country, or had his measures been faithfully followed up, after his death, by his successors ; Ireland would in all human probability, be in a far different condition from what it now is, her Protestant institutions all broken up, the *entire*

fluence of the crown and the tiara could extort a sullen retraction. But although the vexation of the Irish ecclesiastics flamed out thus, from time to time, the many advantages they had obtained, and the continued want of

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population discontented, and the country itself on the verge of a revolution.

A speech delivered by Mr. Perceval in 1805, has been lately published by his son Dudley Perceval, Esq., from the following extract, of which we may perceive the astonishing foresight exhibited, when speaking of the consequences, that would inevitably result from granting what was then called Catholic emancipation. ‘As to this present measure giving content, Sir, what hope does past experience hold out to us of its producing any such effect? Has the system of relaxation and indulgence, which has been acted on of late years, been productive of any such consequence? Has it tended, in proportion to the extent which it has been acted upon, to tranquillize the minds of the people of Ireland? The contrary is notoriously the case. There has been far more of disturbance since, than for many years before. ‘Yes,’ it will be said, ‘that may be true, but that is not to be attributed to the new system of relaxation, but to the remains of the old system of restraint. You have never tried it *effectually*. Follow up your principle as far as it will carry you, and then, you will see, it will no longer fail of its effect.’ Agreed, Sir, for this comes round to my own opinion. *For what is ‘effectually?’* The system has been tried to the extent of the demand, or request of the time; but no sooner was that gained and secured, than new demands have arisen: and so they will soon arise again, until every distinction between the Popish and the Protestant religions is done away. This measure once granted, will only be a stepping-stone to still farther advances; will only be a stimulus to still farther concessions. High places will re-inspire high thoughts; and possession will be so far from abating and allaying the craving appetite, that it will but inflame it; that appetite can never be satisfied till everything it can covet is obtained. And, Sir, in that everything—I say with confidence—is included Roman Catholic establishment; ay! and not establishment alone, but ascendancy; the permanent establishment of the Roman Catholic religion upon the ruins of the United Church in Ireland.

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English protection to shelter them from the vengeance of their betrayed countrymen, combined to teach them the necessity of dissimulation. Trusting to time, and their skill in intrigue, for the final accomplishment of their designs, they continued to assist against the *common enemy* with their counsels, their anathemas, and when induced by sufficient remittances from the exchequer, with their military talents.

A.D. 1313.

Roland Jorse, archbishop of Armagh, arriving at Howth, the day after the Annunciation, arose in the night-time, and by stealth erected his cross and carried it as far as the priory of Grace Dieu, within the province of Dublin, where some of the archbishop's family met him, and beat-

And nothing short of that will, or can, satisfy this Roman Catholic disaffection we are to conciliate: *if even that will.*'

In a note affixed to this passage, by Mr. Dudley Perceval, there is an extract from a letter of Lord Redesdale to the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, in 1804, in which the following passage occurs,— 'Mr. Parnell's pamphlet, to which I referred you, I think, however mischievously designed, so far useful, as in the language of certain persons, *it lets the cat out of the bag*. It states most truly, that hatred to the English, as conquerors, is the true source of the disturbances of Ireland; that the landed property of the Protestants is the principal object with the mass of the people; and that the question of Catholic emancipation, considered as a question of religious tolerance, as necessary from tenderness to the consciences of men, is a mere farce. That those who are the leaders, aim at the repeal of the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland, a separate legislature for Ireland, a new municipal government founded on the system of the first French revolution, an independent Irish Nation, and a nominal King.' This remarkable prognostic, the repealers of 1843, seem to have taken much pains to fulfil to the very letter; and it is well worthy of notice, that O'Connell has often *bragged*, that the moment he had carried 'emancipation,' he began the agitation for 'repeal.'

ing down his cross, drove him in confusion out of Leinster. It was a mark of an archbishop's dignity, to bear his cross erect in his own province ; and a disgraceful contest existed for many years, between many successive archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, as to the right claimed by each, of exhibiting this symbol of authority in the province of the other. This unworthy dispute was carried on with such fierceness, that on eleven different occasions, in the course of twenty years, between 1429 and 1449, successive archbishops of Armagh having been summoned to appear at parliaments holden in the province of Leinster, made returns to the writs of summons, that they could not personally attend in consequence of this quarrel.*

CENTURY
12—16.

At length, in the reign of Edward the second, the in-

A.D. 1315.

* 'While the land was depopulated, and oppressed by every species of outrage, the parliaments were thought worthily employed in hearing a ridiculous contest for precedence, between the prelates of Armagh and Dublin, and deliberating whether a bishop should have his crosier borne erect, or depressed, in some particular districts ; a point of such serious moment, as could not be contested by the parties without violence and bloodshed ; and in which the King of England himself was obliged to moderate.'—(Leland, vol. i. p. 262.)

Dr. Leland appears not to have been aware of the true nature of the dispute in question. The point at issue was, who should be the head of the church in Ireland, and in this question was involved, the contest, continually carried on, during the period of the ascendancy of Romanism in Ireland, between the ancient Irish, and the modern anglo-popish church. The Archbishop of Armagh, was the Primate of the primitive church ; the Archbishop of Dublin, the primate of the intrusive Romish Church.

The question was finally settled in the following manner. The Archbishop of Dublin was still to retain the title claimed, of 'Primate of Ireland,' the Archbishop of Armagh, that of 'Primate of ALL Ireland.'

CENTURY
12—16.

Rebel against
Edward II.

vasion, and partial success of Edward Bruce, revived the ancient spirit of the bishops ; and their smothered rage exploded in the design of a new revolution. Those evils which the prelates of the last reign would not allow their monarch to remedy, were now converted into arguments against the government of his successor, and church policy shewed the versatility of its genius by re-assuming the mask of patriotism. With the usual bad faith of pampered mercenaries, a multitude of ecclesiastics, both prelates and inferior clergy, revolted to the insurgent chieftains.

Bruce, King
of Ireland.

They denounced the English, as enemies to the church, and oppressors of the nation ; they exhorted the populace to flock to the banner of Bruce, a prince, they said, of the ancient line of Milesian monarchs, and the chosen instrument of the common deliverance ; and with that vain-glorious impatience of prosperity, which has always frustrated their most promising attempts, formally crowned the adventurer King of Ireland.*

* ‘The denouncing’ of the English in our day, shews the great improvement that has taken place in the country, in this respect, during the last five or six centuries ; the following extracts are taken from Mr. Dudley Perceval’s Notes on his father’s Speech,—‘The same feelings which animated the English Nation in all ages, and under all circumstances, towards this country, continues to the present in its darkest and most forbidding aspect. Its hatred has never been extinguished, nor its insolent superiority over our people lessened in the slightest degree. To hate Ireland and the Irish, is as natural to a Saxon, as to wallow in the most disgusting and barbarous vices—to revile his maker, or indulge his brutal passions, whenever an opportunity presented itself.

‘This is England in the midst of the nineteenth century ! England with a weight of guilt and infamy upon her, utterly inconceivable. England, the foul and fetid pool into which all the abominations of the human heart disgorge themselves ; and yet this is the

When the rebel priesthood had taken this irrevocable step, they began to awake to the temerity of their enterprise, and made a desperate effort to divert the approaching storm of papal and royal vengeance, from their own heads, upon those of the chieftains with whom they had united ; whom perhaps they had seduced. The experience of our own times prepares us to find these early ecclesiastics putting forward laymen as the ostensible agitators ; and while they touch with their own hands the latent springs of sedition, slipping aside from responsibility, and relinquishing to their confederates all dangerous posts of honor.

The stratagem now practised was somewhat of this nature ; but more clumsy and ineffectual, it must be confessed, than if its movements had been guided by the practised duplicity of modern tacticians. A memorial was dispatched to Rome, the work of ecclesiastics, but entitled ‘ The complaint of the nobles of Ireland to Pope John the twenty-second.’ It described in interesting, though unpolished language, the tyranny of the English over the Church and the people ; it showed how these oppressions had driven the laity to arms, and the clergy, to—the feeble virtue of passive obedience. This extraordinary document begins with political grievances, and then proceeds in the following terms, to expatiate on the wrongs of the Church :—

land which insists on holding the destinies of this country in her keeping for centuries to come. Are we to be dragged along at the footstool of such a tyrant—as the slaves of such a beastly, brutal population, plunged as they are in a whirlpool of abomination, and tainted in every state of life, and in every grade, with the most revolting and shameless immoralities, who do not dissemble their abandonment of, and contempt for the most sacred ties.’—Extracts from a Repeal newspaper as quoted by Mr. Dudley Perceval.

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‘ Let this brief account suffice, of the origin of our ancestors, and the miserable state in which Pope Adrian has placed us. It remains that we remind you, most holy Father, that Henry, King of England, to whom in the manner above mentioned, an induct was granted for entering Ireland, and also the four kings his successors, have broken the conditions which the pontiff’s bull imposed on them. For the aforesaid Henry promised, that he would extend the borders of the Church in Ireland, and maintain its rights inviolate ; that he would eradicate vice and plant virtue, and that he would pay to St. Peter a yearly tax of a penny for every house. All these promises have been wilfully, and of set purpose broken, by the kings, their ministers, and the governors of Ireland. For in the first place, so far are they from extending the demesnes of the Church, that they have invaded, and usurped its former possessions, and despoiled some cathedrals of half their lands. Equal disregard has been shown for ecclesiastical liberty ; our bishops and other dignitaries being cited, arrested, and even imprisoned by the officers of the King of England. But so broken is their spirit by the bitterness of the oppression which they endure, that they fear even to lay their grievances before your holiness ; and since they are so basely silent, they do not deserve that we should say any thing in their favour.’

It appears from the concluding sentence of this passage, that the prelates now wished to disclaim all participation in the rebellion, or in the remonstrance ; but in the first particular, the voice of history proclaims the falsehood of the denial, and in the second, the entire structure of the complaint exposes its inconsistency. The technical chronology of the Irish monasteries, and the technical language of papal bulls and canons, attest the professional

attainments of the authors of this piece ; while the pathetic detail of ecclesiastical grievances, treaties violated, lands usurped, and privileges invaded, is a decisive evidence of their professional spirit. Had the insurgent nobles been indeed the framers of a memorial to the pontiff, it is highly probable they would have expressed far other sentiments than those of compassion, for the bishops of their recreant church.

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Originally betrayed, and during a long lapse of a hundred and fifty years, incessantly worried by their hireling shepherds, it were unfair to impute to these fiery chieftains, either so much weakness, as to feel, or so much hypocrisy as to express, any very deep sympathy in episcopal discontents ; and this weakness or hypocrisy would be utterly unaccountable, could we suppose, as the complaint does,—that the bishops had not conspired with them in their present enterprise. Had such been the case, when they pleaded ‘the miserable state in which pope Adrian had placed them,’ they would not have been in a mood to forget, or to forgive, the share which the hierarchy had in the guilt of the partition-treaty, and which it hoped to have in its iniquitous profits. The reason of the unfortunate lords would have united with their passions in charging upon the prelates all those sufferings, and indignities, by the maddening sense of which, they had been goaded into their hopeless insurrection.

Bruce’s career having terminated at the decisive battle of Dundalk, the pontiff issued an edict, whether as supreme Lord of Ireland, or in his spiritual capacity as Head of the Church, it is not easy to determine,—granting to Edward a subsidy of a tenth of the revenues of his Anglo-Irish subjects for two years. The laity submissively obeyed the mandate, paying the required contributions ;

A.D. 1322.

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but the clergy, with the thunder of St. Peter still ringing in their ears, proved refractory. They demanded a sight of the original bull ; and as for some reason, which history has not recorded, this could not or would not be allowed them, they persisted in their refusal, and eluded the tax. Such were the subdued and spirit-broken priests who dared not lift a voice against the oppressors of their order !

Leland i. 282.

A.D. 1324.

Alice Ketler
charged with
witchcraft.

About the same time there occurred an incident of a different character from any of the preceding, but equally illustrative of that daring spirit, with which the prelates tried their power upon the highest orders in the state. The Bishop of Ossory summoned dame Alice Ketler, a woman of some rank, with her family and dependents, before his spiritual court, to answer to a charge of witchcraft. She was accused of going through Kilkenny every evening between complin and curfew, sweeping the refuse of the streets towards her son's door, and muttering this incantation as she went,

To the house of William my son,
Lie all the wealth of Kilkenny town.

It was also said that she made assignations, near a certain cross-road, with an evil spirit, whose name the Bishop discovered to be Robin Artysson ; and that on these occasions she feasted her paramour upon nine red cocks, and some unknown number of peacocks' eyes. The last allegation against her was, that various implements of sorcery had been found in her house, particularly a sacramental wafer having the name of the devil imprinted on it, and a staff upon which, when duly oiled for an expedition, she and her accomplices were accustomed to ride all the world over. Such things would be ridiculous, were they not made a pretext for atrocities at which nature shudders.

One of her domestics was condemned and executed; her son thrown into prison; the lady herself, happening to escape on the charge of witchcraft, was put to trial a second time, upon an accusation of heresy, found guilty, and sentenced to the flames; and Adam Duff, a gentleman of considerable family in Leinster, was seized at the same time, and burned as a heretic. The lord Arnold de la Poer, seneschal of the palatinate to which Kilkenny then belonged, having interested himself in favour of these unhappy persons, was involved by the bishop in the same accusation; and upon his appealing to the Lord Deputy, the undaunted prelate extended his charge to that personage himself.

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The Lord Deputy and Lord De la Poer included in the same charge.

The head of the civil government was now formally arraigned of heresy before the bishops; and the business of the state, not of the executive department only; but of the law courts, (for the Lieutenancy was at this time filled by the Chancellor,) was interrupted, until the majesty of the Church should announce its awful decision. The investigation was long and solemn; the lord justice made it appear, that his accuser was actuated by personal resentment against de la Poer; and that as to himself, he had given no other ground of suspicion, than his interference on behalf of an injured man; he was acquitted and pronounced a true son of the Church; and sacrificing the vanity of station to a natural impulse of joy, he celebrated his narrow escape, with an entertainment open to all who chose to be his guests.

But in the mean time, the unfortunate nobleman, who had besought his protection, experienced the bitterness of episcopal vengeance. It was the law in those days, that when a bishop gave a certificate, under his sign manual, of the excommunication of a layman, the civil authorities

The consequences resulting from it.

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were obliged to act upon it, the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* was issued in the king's name, and the offender seized and thrown into prison.

This had been done in the case of de la Poer; the king's lieutenant was satisfied of the man's innocence, yet he could not withhold the writ for his apprehension; and instead of affording effectual assistance, was himself in the same danger. While the powerless patron was engaged in his own defence, the client had perished in a dungeon; and as he died unabsolved, the persecution was extended to his remains; the bishop, inaccessible to the weakness of humanity, condemned the body to exposure until the progress of decay had rendered interment indispensable. Much was still to be done and suffered before the zeal of the prelate could be appeased. Disappointed in his hope of burning the Lord-Deputy, he resolved to degrade him into an instrument of his vengeance upon others; he represented the case at the court of Rome in such terms, as best accorded with his malice or fanaticism; and a papal brief was despatched to the king, desiring that he would issue an order to his chief governor, and other officers of state in Ireland, to assist the Bishop of Ossory, and his brother prelates in the extirpation of heresy.*

Cox, p. 108.
Camden, p.
182.
Leland i. 284.

* A.D. 1326. Punishment of Heretics by corporal tortures was used in Ireland at this time. Adam Duff, an Irishman, was burned in College Green, Dublin; being accused of denying many scripture truths, the incarnation, the resurrection, &c., and about the year 1353, two other Irishmen were convicted of heresy, and burned by order of the bishop of Waterford. The Archbishop of Cashel, enraged at the bishop of Waterford, for inflicting the aforesaid punishment without his license, assaulted him, (the bishop) towards midnight in his lodgings, grievously wounded him, and robbed him of his goods.

A.D. 1369. The bishop of Limerick, being summoned to appear be-

‘King Edward the third,’ says Spencer, ‘being greatly crossed and bearded by the lords of the clergy in Ireland; they being there, by reason of the lords abbots and others, too many for him, so that for their frowardness he could not order and reform things as he desired, was advised to direct out his writs to certain gentlemen of the best abilities and trust, entitling them therein barons to sit and serve as barons in the next parliament, by which means he had so many barons in parliament, that he was able to weigh down the clergy and their friends.’

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A.D. 1346
View of the
State of Ire-
land, p. 216.

The Upper
House of
Parliament.

Thus reinforced, the king obtained a vote for a subsidy, which was to be levied on church lands, as well as those of the laity; but the prelates, though defeated within the house, resolved to renew the contest outside. The Archbishop of Cashel, supported by his suffragans of Limerick, Emly and Lismore, published an edict, that all

A vote for a
subsidy.

fore the Archbishop of Cashel, to answer certain charges against him, attacked him with much violence, drew his blood, and compelled him to fly from Limerick. He also entered the city in his robes of state, and excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, all who had supplied the Archbishop with food and entertainment, and afterwards, when the Archbishop was to preach a customary sermon in Limerick, the bishop forbade any one to attend on pain of excommunication, and excommunicated by name, those who were present at the sermon.

A.D. 1442. John Preuce, Archbishop of Armagh, having a dispute with the Dean and Chapter of Raphoe, about the profits of the bishoprick of Raphoe, excommunicated the Dean and Chapter, and granted forty days indulgence to all who should fall upon their persons, and seize and dissipate their substance.

A.D. 1525. In this year, a bishop of Leighlin was murdered by his Archdeacon, because he had rebuked him for his insolence, obstinacy, and other crimes, and threatened him with further correction.

These were a few of the scandalous enormities, which disgraced the church of Rome in the ages alluded to.

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The Bishops
resist the
demand.

beneficed priests who presumed to pay their allotted portion of the subsidy, should be deprived of their livings, and declared incapable of future preferment; and that for the like offence, the vassals of the Church should be excommunicated, and their descendants to the third generation excluded from holy orders.

Not satisfied with this severity, the Archbishop proceeded to the county-town, in the habit of his order, and with the attendance suited to the most solemn exercise of his functions; and there publicly pronounced an excommunication upon the king's commissioner of revenue, and upon all others who should procure, pay, or in any other manner contribute to, the levying of the subsidy from lands, or persons belonging to the Church. Informations were exhibited against the prelates for those outrages. They pleaded *magna charta*,* by which, they said, it was provided, that the Church should be free; or, as they endeavoured to explain the phrase, that should be exempt from the laws and imposts of the civil power, and that all who violated this immunity should be punished with ex-

* The champions of the present Roman Catholic hierarchy are fond of referring to Magna Charta, as a proof that the order is not inimical to liberty. It would be well if, in the interval of what may almost be called their professional labours, they examined that celebrated compact; they would then learn, that it gives to the clergy enormous power; to the barons and knights, a monopoly of those privileges which the modesty of the church declined, and to the mass of the people, nothing. The only article in the great charter, which notices the serfs, or villacus of the soil, at that time the most numerous body of men in England, has an obvious reference to the interests of their masters. A serf could not forfeit his plough, cart, or other implements of husbandry; because if deprived of these, he could no longer minister to the barbarous plenty of the lord, to whose estate he belonged.—(See Hume, ii. 88.)

communication. Their plea being rejected, and the cause given against them, these froward lords refused to appear in arrest of judgment, and the timidity of government suffered the controversy to die away. Thus the Church triumphed in its very defeats; and one of the greatest of the English monarchs, a conqueror, who had routed the warlike clans of Scotland and dispersed the chivalry and fleets of France, was 'crossed and bearded,' without resistance or redress, by the ecclesiastics of Ireland.

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CHAPTER X.

THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY—AN ENGLISH ACT OF PARLIAMENT TO PREVENT THE IRISH BISHOPS FROM PRESENTING REBELS TO BENEFICES IN IRELAND—ANOTHER ACT IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD IV, TO COMPEL THE BISHOPS TO DO THEIR DUTY—THE CROWNING OF SIMNEL, KING OF IRELAND, IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CHRIST'S CHURCH, DUBLIN—THE BISHOPS ALARMED AT WHAT THEY HAD DONE—VOTED A SUBSIDY TO THE POPE—THE EXTRAORDINARY DEMAND OF THE EARL OF KILDARE, ON HIS TAKING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

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THERE were two methods, each having its own recommendation, by which all the inhabitants of Ireland might have been made to coalesce into one people. The ancient race might have been compensated for much actual suffering, and for the wound inflicted upon their honest national pride, by admittance to the superior comforts and privileges of Englishmen; or on the other hand, the colonists might have been allowed to blend with the great mass of their new neighbours, and to adopt the land in which fortune had placed them, as their own country. The first would have been the more acceptable to the multitude; the second, the more conciliatory to the nobles. A policy judiciously attempered of both, might have moulded the social state of Ireland into something better perhaps, than any which now exists in either Island. But un-

happily the course pursued, only added new stimulants to that mutual antipathy, with which their relative circumstances had inspired the races ; so that an increase of evil could hardly be effected in after ages, even by religious rancour.

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It has been already seen, that the first of these modes of re-union, had been prevented by the bishops of one generation. The second was now opposed by those of another, and with the same fatal success. At this crisis, the representative of the De Burgh family, William Burke, Earl of Ulster, and Lord of Connaught, one of the most potent of those descended from the original invaders, was murdered by his English attendants in Ulster, leaving an only daughter to inherit his vast estates. This lady married Lionel, Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward the Third, but brought him no other dowry than her charms, for the next male heirs of the deceased Earl seized upon his extensive territories in Connaught, and divided, or *gavelled* them amongst themselves, according to the principles of Irish law. They adopted the laws, language, and manners of the Irish, set the English government at defiance, and transmitted the estates to their posterity.

Lionel, Duke of Clarence, came twice to Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, in the vain hope of recovering his lady's rich inheritance. But his efforts proving fruitless, he in 1367 (no doubt smarting under his loss) convened a parliament at Kilkenny, where several laws for restraining the degeneracy of the English settlers were passed, which, as they formed together a system of government, are commonly called *the statute of Kilkenny*.

A.D. 1367.

The statute
of Kilkenny.

We shall now proceed to examine some of the provisions of this celebrated code, which has been not unjustly

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described ‘as a declaration of perpetual war against the native Irish, and all the English settlers, who indentified themselves with the Irish ; and also to show, that the baneful results of this impolitic measure continue to be felt, even at the present day.

‘ The preamble sets forth, that the English settlers at the conquest, and for a long time after, conformed to English laws, and usages, “in which time God and holy Church and their franchises, according to their condition, were maintained.” But that now many English of said land, forsaking the English language, manners, mode of riding,* laws and usages, live and govern themselves, according to the manners, fashion, and language of the Irish enemies, and also have made divers marriages and alliances, between themselves and the Irish enemies aforesaid, whereby all due order and allegiance had been subverted.’

In order to explain the introduction of ‘ God and holy Church ’ into this preamble, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the claim of the English monarch to reign over Ireland, rested on the grant made by Pope Adrian to Henry the Second. The religious excuse for the ensuing enactment, is again repeated in the preamble, it being declared, that the statute was designed ‘to the honor of

* It is rather amusing to find the English of the pale commanded to use saddles, under pain of forfeiting their horses, and payment of a fine, at the King’s discretion. The Irish did not use saddles, and the English settlers seem to have taken a strange fancy to the fashion of riding *bare-backed* ;—so late as the reign of Henry VIII. A.D. 1534, it was enjoined, ‘that every gentylman of the Ingylyshire, which may dispend twenty pounds by the year, shall ryde in a saddell, and weare Ingylyshe apparel.’ This was deemed of more importance than English common law ; for the abolition of the Brehon law is far less emphatically expressed, than the injunction to use saddles.

God, and his glorious mother, and of holy Church,' and in the very first clause enjoins that the civil power shall give due effect to sentences of excommunication, pronounced by the ecclesiastical authorities. Indeed in all the statutes under the Plantagenets, we find provision made for the maintenance of the authority of the Romish Church in Ireland, because it was from the Church that the State derived its authority, and by the aid of its clergy alone, the government as then constituted, foolishly hoped to reconcile the Irish to British rule.

'It was decreed by this statute "that no alliance of marriage, gossiped,* fostering† of children, concubinage, or by amour, nor in any other manner, be henceforth made between the English and Irish, of one part or of the other part, and that no Englishman, nor other person, do give or sell to any Irishman, in time of peace, or horses or armour, nor any manner of victuals in time of war, and if any shall do to the contrary, and thereof be attainted, he shall have judgment of life and member as a traitor to our lord the king.'‡

* *Gossiped*, was one of the strongest ties of friendship between Irish families, in former days. Instances are not rare of godfathers and godmothers, receiving as much of affection and obedience as parents, and on the other hand sponsors rarely neglect their obligation of watching over the child, for whom they have answered at baptism.

† *Fostering*, was a still more sacred tie. Instances have been known, where the nurse and her husband preferred the interest of the foster-child, to the lives of their own offspring; and still more frequently have the children of the nurse, devoted themselves to the service of their foster-brother; not hesitating at the commission of crime, for his interest or gratification.

* Mr. O'Connell's edition of the statute is as follows :—'During that period, the English were prohibited from inter-marrying with

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Again, 'If any man of English race, should use the Irish dress,* or language, or take an Irish name, or observe any rule or custom of the Irish, he was to forfeit lands and tenements, until he had given in the court of chancery, that he would conform in every particular to the English manners.'

the Irish ; from having their children nursed by the wives of captains, *Chiefs*, or *Lords* ; and what is still more strange, the English were also prohibited from sending goods, wares, or merchandize for sale, or selling them upon credit, or for ready money to the Irish.'—(O'Connell's Memoir on Ireland, Native and Saxon, p. 20.)

The first of these prohibitions is in force in the territories of the pope at this very day, and why not in his kingdom of Ireland in the fourteenth century. No Roman Catholic can marry a heretic, unless he or she previously conform to the Church of Rome : and with respect to the second prohibition, I am not at all surprised that 'Irish Chiefs or Lords,' should be prevented from degrading themselves, by allowing their *Ladies* to act as wet-nurses to the children of the Sassenaugh or Saxons. How a man 'of Milesian descent, chieftains of the O'Connell clans in Iveragh and Clare,' (Sketch of D. O'Connell at the end of his Memoir), could complain of such a prohibition, astonishes me truly.

The prohibition respecting goods, wares, &c., here mentioned, Mr. Hallam, assures us, referred solely to horses and armour, or any manner of victuals *in time of war*.

* English apparel was enjoined as well as the English language ; and so important did this enactment appear, that we find it repeated in 1447, under the Lord Lieutenancy of the Earl of Shrewsbury, 'As there is no diversity of habit, between the English marchers, and the Irish enemies, by colour of which, the Irish enemies come into the English counties, as English marchers, and rob and pillage on the high-way, and destroy the common people, by lodging on them by nights, and slay the husbandmen, and take their goods to the Irish : It is enacted, that he that will be taken for an Englishman, shall not use the beard upon his upper lip alone, and that the said lip, shall be once shaven at least in every two weeks, the offender to be treated as an Irish enemy.'

Further, 'It was made highly penal, to present a mere Irishman* to an ecclesiastical benefice, or receive him into a monastery, or other religious house; to entertain an Irish bard, minstrel, or storyteller, or to admit an *Irish horse* to graze on the pasture of an Englishman.' †

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* That is, not simply an Irish man by birth and descent, for a vast majority of the established clergy were of that description, but one who had not purchased a charter of denization, and conformed to the English usages, civil and *religious*. The mere Irish were the members of the Irish church, and treated by the Romanists, as *heretics* of the worst character.

† We find from the depositions of the Protestants, relating to the conduct of the rebels, in the massacre of 1641, how they retorted on the English cattle and language, after their own fashion, for the passing of this act by the Romish Aristocracy, lay and ecclesiastical, nearly three hundred years before, and the very same feeling is manifested in the present day, and from the same cause.

'Thomas Johnson, Vicar of Turloigh and Kelly common, county Mayo, saith, that the rebels in the baronies of Costello and Callen, in mere hatred and derision of the English, and *their very cattle*, and contempt and derision of the English laws, did ordinarily, and commonly, prefer bills of indictment, and bring the *English breed of cattle*, to be tried upon juries, and having in their fashion, arraigned those cattle :—

'Then their scornful judge, then sitting amongst them, would say, They look as if they could *speak English*, give them the book and see if they can read, pronouncing the words 'Legit an non,' to the jury, and then because they stood mute, and could not read, he would and did pronounce judgment, and sentence of death against them, and they were committed and put to slaughter.'

Andrew Adaire, late of Moygownagh, County Mayo, Esq., saith, 'that the name of the English was so hateful to the Irish, that they would not only kill all the *English breed of cattle*, but sometimes jeeringly saying, *they would speak English*, and therefore, they would kill them.'—*Jurat 9th, January, 1642.*

It deserves to be observed, that those individuals (lay and ecclesiastic) of the pale, who by the statute of Kilkenny, sacrificed the

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Thus, as if oppression were not sufficient, the most taunting insult was offered to the noblest sentiments of a people, who were at once devoted to the customs of their fathers, and deeply susceptible of early religious impressions. Every thing Irish was denounced, as an object of abhorrence both to God and man, and the bitterness of civil strife, impregnated with the deadly poison of religious bigotry. There was a cold and exquisite malevolence in this measure, attainable only by a class of beings, which had abjured, or had never known, the kindly sympathies of humanity, and the event proved, that it was no less imprudent, than unnatural.*

The melancholy effects which followed the passing of this act, are felt even at the present day. Rebellions increased in strength and frequency. From Cork to Galway, the jurisdiction of government was gradually narrowing to Carlow, and in the next century it became a proverb, that ‘they who lived West of the Barrow, lived West of the English law.’ It deserves to be noticed,

welfare and tranquillity of Ireland to the maintenance of the spirit of ascendancy and exclusiveness, were the ancestors of those Romish lords and gentry, who are now crying out so furiously for the destruction of the established church, that they may bring the country again under the dominion of the Roman See.

* Doctor Leland expresses his regret, that such a course of policy was adopted at this crisis. He justly says, ‘the reign of the renowned monarch in England, and the presence of his son in Ireland, the husband of a Lady of Irish birth, and of an illustrious family, an heiress of vast possessions, were circumstances highly favourable to a generous conciliating scheme, whose apparent equity might warrant the addition of military vigour, against the most desperate and abandoned.’ Plowden observes, ‘there was scarcely an extreme of antipathy, and hatred, and revenge, to which this code of aggravation was not calculated to provoke both nations.’

that of the eight prelates, who attended this parliament, three were apostate Irish, and no less than seven of papal appointment. Their spiteful anathema, is therefore to be ascribed not to English insolence, or English policy, but to the spirit of the order.

Nothing is more remarkable in the history of this body, than its early proficiency in an art which is cultivated in our own times, with rival assiduity, but by no means proportionate success;—the art of uniting the most hard-hearted oppression of the people, to a factious contempt of the authority of the state, and a swaggering affectation of public spirit. Nine years after the passing of the statute of Kilkenny, we find the character of lawless violence—the proverbial reproach of the country and the time—branded alike upon the prelates and the lay lords, by the impartiality of a harassed government. In the patent issued to the Earl of Ormond upon his appointment to the lieutenancy, he had been granted a general power of pardon; but in a subsequent writ, this power was explained, as not extending to the pardon of ‘any *prelate* or Earl, for an offence punishable by loss of life, member, lands, or goods.’ Justice, conscious weakness, and the obvious policy of dividing the oppressive weight of the temporal and spiritual grandees, would have prevented the executive from including the latter in this opprobrious reservation, had not the habitual outrages of the two orders displayed equal insolence, and attained equal notoriety. In the same year a transaction took place, little short of the licentiousness of modern opposition, that seems to require a particular detail. The revenue being greatly reduced, and the English commons growing uneasy under the burden of supporting the Irish government, the king resolved to assemble another parliament, for the pur-

A.D. 1376

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pose of obtaining a subsidy. Parliament met accordingly ; but pleaded poverty, and refused a supply. The king, provoked at this denial, despatched writs to all the counties, cities, and dioceses in his Irish dominions, requiring that two representatives from each, should be sent to attend him in England, to confer with his council concerning a subsidy, and other matters of state. The returns of the bishops are good evidences of the spirit which then animated the Irish Church.

The Archbishop of Armagh wrote thus : ‘ In pursuance of this writ, having called before us the clergy of our diocese, we make answer of our common opinion and assent, that according to the liberties, privileges, rights, laws, and customs of the Church and land of Ireland, we are not bound to elect any of our clergy to be sent to England, for the purpose of holding councils or parliaments therein ; yet because of our reverence for our illustrious lord, the King of England, and the imminent and most urgent necessity of this land, we do for the present, saving to ourselves, and to the lords and commons of said land, all liberties, privileges, rights, laws, and customs aforesaid, grant unto masters John Cusack and William Fitzadelm, clerks, full power to go into England, and appear before our lord the king, in order to treat, consult, and agree, touching the safety, defence, and good government of the said land, *excepting, however, that we do not grant to our said delegates, any power of voting subsidies, or other burdens upon us and our clergy,*’ &c.

There is something in this language, which, were not the subject so grave, and the writer an Archbishop, might almost be called broad irony. That ‘ imminent and most urgent necessity,’ by which, next to their reverence for the crown, the prelate, and his clergy were moved to waive their privileges, was nothing else but the extreme

poverty of the state, the Irish revenue being now short of ten thousand pounds a year. It was to remedy this evil that the king had issued his summons; and upon every subject *but this*, the submissive ecclesiastics give their deputies full power.

The other returns are to the same effect; thus the Archbishop and clergy of Cashel sent one deputy 'to treat, consult, and agree, *saving the liberties of the Church*, and the free customs of the land of Ireland.' It has already appeared, that the liberties of the Church, as they were understood by Churchmen, included exemption from all secular imposts; so that this return is in substance the same as the former.

The Archbishop of Tuam made no return.

The Bishop and clergy of Meath sent one deputy, 'with full power to inform and advise their lord the king, concerning the state and government of the land of Ireland, *saving the liberties and customs* of said land, and *of the Churches* thereof.'

The Bishop and clergy of Kildare sent two deputies, 'with full power to treat, inform, consult, and agree, concerning the state, preservation, and good government of the land of Ireland, *but as to loading the clergy with subsidies*, or any other burdens than those which they already bear, *they can in no wise give them any power.*'

The Bishop and clergy of Leighlin unanimously declared, 'that they were too poor to send over any deputy to their lord the king.'

The Bishop and clergy of Ossory sent two deputies 'to do as the writ required, *saving the liberties of the Church*, and land of Ireland.'

The Bishop and clergy of Ferns sent two deputies 'with full power to do, as the writ required, *saving the liberties of the Church*, and land of Ireland.'

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The bishop and clergy of Lismore protested that ‘ from their great and notorious poverty, they were unable to send any deputies to England.’ Returns, without any saving clauses, or pleas of poverty were received from Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Cloyne, and Kerry.

A.D. 1417.

The inhabitants of Ireland in those days were usually classed under three denominations; liege-men or good subjects; Irish enemies, those who had never submitted to the government, and who, indeed, were in a state of almost constant warfare with it; and rebels, those who being subjects by birth, or having become so by voluntary submission, took up arms against the state, or at least renounced the English laws and institutions.

So Richard the second in his despatches from Ireland to the Duke of York.
See Leland i. Appendix, No. II.

In the reign of Henry the Fifth, so many of the prelates were of this third class, and they had so intimidated the local legislature, that the English parliament found it necessary to interpose its supreme authority. An act was passed in England ‘ that all archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, of the Irish nation, *rebels* to the king, that shall make any collation, or presentment to benefices in the land of Ireland, or that shall bring with them any Irish rebels among the Englishmen, to the parliament, councils, or other assemblies, within the said land, to learn the secrets or condition of the English subjects, their temporalities shall be seized until the fine to the king.’ It is evident from the terms of this statute, that these ‘ rebels to the king’ were too strong not merely for the colonial government, but for the parliament and the power of England herself; the most rebellious among them had only to pay a fine to the crown, and he was restored to his temporalities, and to all the rights of a liegeman.*

An English act of Parliament.

* Lib. MS. Lambeth, quoted by Cox, p. 151. The act, as far as

The same weakness of the crown, and the same intractable spirit of the hierarchy, appear in our Irish statutes of the reign of Edward the fourth. In the infancy of the English colony, the civil authorities, weak, unsettled and distracted by frequent and sudden assaults, had sought the assistance of their spiritual ally. Judging of the Irish by themselves, the governors ascribed much mystical virtue to the sanction of an anathema; they occasionally tried its force upon some refractory chieftain; and upon the submission of others, bound them to articles, which contained a provision that the censures of the church should be denounced against them, in case of future revolt. But it was soon discovered, that excommunication had few terrors for an Irish lord. The thunder of the Church was suffered to sleep, except when the prelates in pursuance of their own objects, chose to draw it down upon the government itself: and on these occasions it did some execution, the English having brought with them that full-grown awe of papal censures, which it took some centuries to mature in the minds of their ruder neighbours.

Centuries, however, had now rolled away; excommunication had become formidable among the Irish, and by its spiritual terrors, combined with those more tangible penalties which were attached to it by the civil law, it might have rendered important though humiliating assistance; but the bishops contrived to frustrate the hopes of the state, by declining to issue the necessary anathemas.

Cox has quoted it, does not mention the amount of fine. In the *impartial* administration of justice in our days, the clauses in the emancipation act, preserving the rights and titles of our bishops, and those preventing the increase of the regular clergy in Ireland, are openly violated, without the payment of any penalty.

CENTURY
12—16.

A.D. 1467.
An act
passed to
compel the
bishops to
do their duty.

An act was therefore passed to compel them to do their duty.

‘Whereas,’ it decreed, ‘our holy father Adrian, Pope of Rome, was seized of all the seigniory of Ireland in right of his Church; and whereas for a certain rent he alienated said seigniory to the King of England, and his heirs for ever;* by which grant the subjects of Ireland owe their obedience to the King of England, as their sovereign lord; it is therefore ordained, that all archbishops and bishops of Ireland shall, upon the monition of forty days, proceed to the excommunication of all disobedient subjects; and if such archbishops or bishops be remiss in doing their duties in the premises, they shall forfeit one hundred pounds.’ The miserable effort at vigor, in this enactment, only renders more manifest the subjection of the civil power, to the caprices of a restive priesthood; yet the partizans of the lord-deputy affected to exult in it as a proof of a resolute and effective administration.†

Leland ii 56.

A.D. 1486.

In the reign of Henry VII, the divided state of public opinion, between the rival houses of York and Lancaster,

* This is strenuously denied by the Irish writers, who maintain, and with perfect truth, that the Pope reserved the seigniory for the see of Rome. O’Sullivan goes so far as to say, that the King of England was no more than a sort of chief commissioner of revenue to the pope, having the care of collecting the Peter’s-pence and other dues.

† The anti-British feeling which originated this act of parliament, appears to be as applicable to the present time, as to the period to which it refers; as the late Dr. Doyle, in perfect consistency with his oath as a Romish bishop, solemnly avowed, ‘that were rebellion raging from the Giant’s Causway to Cape Clear, not one of them (the bishops) would interfere to assuage its horrors.’

revived the restless ambition of the hierarchy, and encouraged them to appear once more in open rebellion, against the united authority of Pope and King. The title of the reigning prince had been confirmed by the Pontiff, with the severest denunciations against all gainsayers; his Irish government had been conducted in a moderate and conciliatory spirit; yet all the bishops except four, English and Irish indiscriminately, with a proportionate number of the clergy, joined in the conspiracy which was formed to depose him, and to place a boy of mean extraction upon the throne of the Plantagenets.

The stripling Simnel, the creature of an obscure Oxford ecclesiastic, was received by these prelates with an extravagant affectation of loyal zeal. On his arrival in Dublin, he was conducted in state to the cathedral of Christ Church; the Bishop of Meath, in a bold discourse from the pulpit, explained, and enforced his right to the throne; and a crown taken from a statue of the Virgin in the Church of *St. Mary les Dames*, was placed upon his head, amidst the acclamations of a deluded populace.*

CENTURY
12—16.

The crown-
ing of
Simnel.

* Soon after the crowning of the imposter, Lambert Simnel, in Christ's Church, Dublin, A.D. 1486, Henry VII sent over to Ireland an able lawyer, named Sir Edward Poyning, to compose the distracted state of the English pale, then reduced to four counties, Dublin, Meath, Kildare and Lowth. A parliament was regularly summoned at Drogheda, and an act passed, since known under the name of Poyning's act, by which it was provided, among other things, that 'no parliament be holden hereafter in Ireland, but at such season as the king's lieutenant in council there do first certify to the king, under the great seal of the land, the causes and considerations thereof, and all such acts, as to them seemeth should pass in the same parliament.'

The lord lieutenant, or the king in council, became by this act, the proposer of all laws to be passed. This act was modified in the

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12—16.

When the bishops had thus carried their treason to the last extremity, they began to be visited with the same misgivings which had disturbed their predecessors in the time of Edward Bruce. To influence the councils, or at

third year of Philip and Mary, ‘by the governor and council being empowered to certify such other causes, requiring legislation, which were not foreseen at the beginning of the session.’ The agitators of our day, in their earnest endeavours to influence the minds of their countrymen against the English, repeatedly call their attention to this act, as one of the cruel specimens of English, or more properly speaking, popish domination ; but they omit to inform their countrymen, of the circumstances under which it originated, and are equally silent, as to the fact, that it was at the time, one of the most popular acts ever passed in Ireland, on account of the people being thereby relieved from thousands of local oppressions under the cover of acts of parliament.

The year 1782, when England was waging a fearful contest against France and America, was the period chosen, by the agitators of the day, for the completion of their project,—*the separation of this country from England*. They asked for troops to defend the coast from invasion, well knowing that England had none to spare, and deluded men of the highest rank and talent in the land, were prevailed on to join them in what was pretended to be a patriotic cause. By the permission of England fifty thousand men, as if sown by Cadmus, instantly sprung into activity ; and were no sooner organized, than they commenced dictating to the parliament, and threatening England with separation.

His majesty, in the due course of Irish conciliating policy, sent a gracious message to the Irish parliament, offering them ‘a carte blanche’ to fill up with Irish grievances. The commons of Ireland, under the influence of the guns and sabres of the volunteers, declared that none, but the king, lords, and commons of Ireland had power to make laws for Ireland. Mr. Grattan, the chief agitator of the day, undertook to be the tranquilizer of his country. Poyning’s act was partially repealed, together with the act of George I, and a day was appointed by these miserably deluded politicians, for a solemn and public thanksgiving to be offered up to Almighty God,

least soften the resentment of the Vatican, they assembled a convocation, and caused a subsidy to be voted to the holy father. Whether the grant was intended as the purchase of an absolution from the impending censures; or as a substantial proof that, however they might have erred in the choice of a subordinate ruler, they had not swerved from their fealty to the supreme lord of their order, and their country, it is now impossible to determine; but whatever might have been its purpose, Rome stood firm to her own dignity, and the claims of her faithful vassal. A bull was directed to the four prelates who had not leagued in the rebellion, commanding them

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12—16

The bishops
alarmed,
voted a
subsidy.

in gratitude, that there could no longer exist any constitutional question to disturb mutual tranquillity.

Notwithstanding this solemn thanksgiving, points of dispute between the two legislatures were continually occurring. The agitators were also disputing among themselves. Mr. Flood, one of the most respectable of them, contended with great truth, that the repeal of the declaratory act of 6 George I, did not establish the constitutional independence of Ireland. Mr. Grattan as fiercely contended that it did. The real friends of Ireland, who preferred the substantial welfare of their country to the fanciful prospects of interested partizans, soon perceived, that what was farcically termed 'the constitution of Irish independence' must inevitably lead to separation from England, or a legislative incorporation. They wisely chose the latter, as the lesser evil of the two, and accordingly, so early as 1782 (the famed year of independence,) the union between both countries was proposed and debated. The patriotic Roman Catholic historian, Mr. O'Driscoll, justly 'thinks it would have been better for Ireland had Mr. Grattan left untouched Sir G. Poyning's act,' (ii. p. 180,) and Mr. Plowden remarks also on this subject, 'It appears, as if it had been written in the book of fate, that the felicity of Ireland, whilst separated from Great Britain, should be short-lived, precarious and uncertain.'—(History, p. 16.) The partial repeal of this act was the true cause of the legislative union in 1801.

CENTURY
12—16.

The renew-
ing of their
oaths of al-
legiance.

to excommunicate their offending brethren; and the delinquents would have experienced the utmost severity of papal vengeance, had not the monarch declared his willingness to admit them to pardon, upon the easy terms of acknowledging their fault, and renewing their oaths of allegiance.

Sir Richard Edgecumbe, the officer sent over by the king to receive the submission of the lords and prelates of the pale, has left us copies of the oaths which were taken on the occasion; they were 'devised by himself, as sure as he could,' and cost him the labour of many days in the discussion of the several articles with these refractory penitents. The oath for the lay lords was framed on the model of the old oath of a feudal vassal; with a clause at the end, that the party 'will not let, ne cause to be letted, the execution and declaration of the great censures of holy Church, to be done agenst any person of what estate, degree, or condition he be, by any Archbishop, Bishop, &c., according to the authority of our most holy father, Pope Innocent the eighth, that now is, agenst all theme of the king's subgetts, that lett or trouble our sayd sovereign lord King Henry the seventh.' The same pledges were exacted of the bishops, with an additional declaration, that 'as oft as they should be required, they would execute the censures of the Church, on behalf of their sovereign lord, agenst all those of his subgetts, of what dignity, degree, state, or condition he be, that letteth or troubleth their sayd sovereign lord.'

The attempt made to elude the force of these oaths, is a strong instance of that detestable casuistry, by which the schoolmen of the Church of Rome, have seared the natural susceptibility of conscience. When at length every difficulty appeared to be adjusted, it was demanded

by Kildare, the leader of the rebellion, that the host on which they were to be sworn should be consecrated by one of his own chaplains. This demand involved, literally, *the mystery of iniquity*, which the rude proposer could never have fathomed for himself, and which few Roman Catholic laymen of the present day will be able to comprehend without a particular explanation.

It has long been a doctrine of the papal church, republished at Trent under the sanction of a curse upon all who deny it, that the intention of the officiating priest is necessary for the validity of a religious rite. The conspirators were assured that the intention of Kildare's chaplain would be cordially in their favour; thus the form of consecration would be the juggling illusion of a mountebank; the wafer would be no host, and the protestation made upon it, 'so help me *this* holy sacrament of God's body, in form of bread *here present*, to my salvation or damnation,' however awful in its terms, would have no meaning, and consequently no terrors, to those whom the prelates should initiate into so comfortable a secret.*

* On such an occasion as that mentioned above, the dogma will encourage the unprincipled villain; but to the honestly superstitious, it abounds with consequences the most alarming. A Priest cannot know whether he is lawfully called to the ministry; his people are equally ignorant, whether his ministerial acts are valid; the want of intention in himself, or in the bishop who ordained him, is sufficient to invalidate all he does. Thus a matron can never be sure that she is married; or a devotee, that he has received any one of those sacraments, which he at the same time believes to be indispensable for his salvation. All this is unaccountable, in a church, which maintains her own infallibility *in order to save her votaries from doubt*;—or rather, it would be unaccountable, did it not teach the necessity of being always on good terms with the priesthood. The words of the Trent decree are these, 'If any one

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12—16.

But Edgewcombe was aware of the perfidy of the demand: he insisted that the mass should be celebrated by his own chaplain: and has left us a description of the whole ceremony, which shows the appalling character of the meditated prevarication.

This done, he says ‘the seyd erle went into a chamber, where the seyd Sir Richard’s chaplain was at masse, and in the masse time, the said erle was shriven and assoiled from the curse that he stood in by virtue of the Pope’s bull; and before the *agnus* of the seyd masse, the host being divided into three parts, the priest turned him from the altar, holding the said three parts of the host upon a patten; and there in the presence of many persons, the seyd erle, *holding his right hand over the holy host, made his sollomn oath of legeance*, unto our sovereign lord King Henry the seventh in souch forme as was afore devised; and in likewise the bushoppes and lordes made like oath; and that done, and the masse ended, the seyd erle, with the seyd Sir Richard, bushoppes and lordes went into the Church of the seyd monastery, and in the choir thereof, the Archbushopp of Dublyn began *Te Deum*, and the choir with the organs sung it up solemnly, and all the bells in the Church rung.’

Sir Richard
Edgewcombe’s
Voyage,
Harris’
Hibernica, i.
78.

The bishops, however, though frustrated in this first device, had another evasion in reserve, the benefits of which did not extend to their lay associates. The oath of the latter was absolute, concluding in the manner already quoted, ‘so help me this holy sacrament,’ &c., but in that of the prelates, these words were followed by a

shall say, that there is not required in ministers, when they consecrate and administer the sacraments, an *intention* of doing what the church does, let him be ANATHEMA. Sess. 6, Canon ix.

sweeping clause of exceptions, ‘salvo ordine episcopali,’— saving the privileges of their order; privileges, of which themselves were the only judges, and before the sacred inviolability of which, all secular rights and secular obligations were required to give way.*

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12—16.

* A few years after this transaction, we find an act of attainder passed against this same Earl of Kildare, for treason and rebellion, &c. &c. He was committed to the Tower, without being heard, or confronted with his accusers, while his wife, deeply affected with the disgrace of her consort, and kept in anxious uncertainty of his fate, languished under such violent impressions, and died in Ireland. But this interval was probably of service to the Earl, as it gave the King an opportunity of being informed of his real character, as well as that of his adversaries.

Their agents were despatched to London, and inveighed with great violence against the traitorous attempts and designs of the noble prisoner. He was at length admitted to confront them in the King’s presence; when Henry found, instead of a dangerous, subtle, and dark conspirator, a man of unrefined, artless, and even awkward simplicity; of a demeanour so easy, so confident, and unrestrained, as seemed to indicate a perfect consciousness of his own innocence.

Henry directed him to prepare for his defence, and to provide himself with able counsel, as he feared his cause would require it. ‘Yea,’ replied the Earl, ‘the ablest in the realm,’ seizing Henry by the hand with an uncourtly familiarity, ‘Your highness, I take for my counsel against these false knaves.’ The King smiled at the novelty of this address, and the uncouth compliment to his equity and discernment. He heard his accusers, and found their charge unsupported in every point of moment to the interests of the crown, and in other matters frivolous and futile.

The king soon perceived that their allegations were dictated by private resentments and factious malignity, and was not displeased to see the culprit treat them with a severity of a superior, as if still in Ireland, and in the fulness of power. As their charges of treason were soon found to amount to nothing more than surmise and suspicion, as the Irish lord with whom he was said to have conspired against Poynings, gave solemn and satisfactory evidence to exculpate him,

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12—16.

‘ This review of the conduct of the Irish hierarchy,’ says the late Dr. Phelan, ‘ has now been brought down to the eve of the Reformation. It has appeared, that so far from making amends for the great treason of their predecessors, few generations of prelates passed away without adding some new grievance to the accumulation of national suffering. For the turbulence which they thus uniformly evinced, they had as little aggression to plead in excuse, as perhaps ever was experienced by any community in so long a lapse of years. The sovereign, besides endowing them splendidly, had placed them next, and scarcely below, himself; the aristocracy had added many and noble benefactions; and if we are to believe their own writers, the people were distinguished for submissiveness to the Church, and unblemished by the stain of heresy.*

the accusers were obliged to recur to his violences, and the injuries they had sustained from him in Ireland, matters in which Henry was not nearly interested. Among other accusations it was urged, that the Earl in one of his lawless excursions, had sacrilegiously burned the Church of Cashel to the ground. ‘ Spare your evidence,’ said Kildare, ‘ I did set fire to the Church, for I thought the Bishop had been in it.’ This undesigned manner of pleading the aggravation, in excuse for his offence, helped to cast an air of ridicule upon the prosecutors, not unfavourable to the culprit. They closed their charge with a warm and passionate declaration, ‘ that all Ireland could not govern this Earl :’ ‘ Well,’ replied Henry, ‘ this Earl shall then govern all Ireland.’ The triumph of Kildare was now complete, he was restored to his estates and honors, and consulted about the affairs of the country, (Leland ii. pp. 110, 111.) and on the accession of Henry VIII, we find him continued in his government, and acting with his usual vigor in repelling insurgents, quieting commotions, and deciding contests in different quarters of the island.

* Thus the late Dr. Doyle, under the signature of J. K. L., says, ‘ when it pleased God to have an Island of Saints upon earth, he pre-

Those jealousies which arose, from time to time, between the English and Irish members of the body, had scarcely any effect upon its general policy. All had been Irish, when Ireland was sacrificed to their thirst of aggrandizement; and after English and Irish were joined in the hierarchy, the latter were always as ready to afflict the

pared Ireland from afar for this high destiny. Her attachment to the faith once delivered to her, was produced by many concurrent causes, as far as natural means are employed by providence to produce effects of a higher kind. These causes have had their influence, but there was another and stronger power labouring in Ireland for the faith of the Gospel; there was the natural disposition of the people, suited to a religion which satisfied the mind and gratified the affections. Here the aboriginal Irish are all Catholics; and to these are joined great multitudes who have descended from the ancient settlers, and who in process of time have become more Irish than the Irish themselves,' (Letters on Ireland). This is not the bombast of an individual, but the uniform and established language of a school. Full two centuries before Dr. Doyle, the world was informed by another titular prelate; 'that the soil of Ireland was holy, congenial to true religion, fertile in Catholics, and reclaiming even foreigners, after they had been settled here a few generations,' and again, 'Go then, ye heretics, destitute of the truth, and acknowledge the wonderful providence of God, and his secret counsels towards the natives of Ireland,—cease to reproach the tents of the children of Israel, whom God has chosen for his peculiar people.' (Routh's *Analecta Sacra*, p. 67, 74). Dr. Burke, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, has several passages in nearly the same terms. This good prelate, indeed, seems half inclined to insinuate, that 'the instinct of orthodoxy extends to Irish horses. He tells an anecdote of James the first with great complacency; it seems, that Sir Arthur Chichester, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, sent over a very fine horse to his master; but the King,—who by the bye, as we learn from that best of historians, the 'Author of Waverley,' was an indifferent horseman, eyed the present with very considerable distrust; 'I doubt the knave's a papist,' said the cautious monarch, and refused to mount.

CENTURY
12—16.

people as the former to insult and embarrass the prince. Enemies alike to freedom and to government, both were engaged in all those measures, which entailed permanent misfortune on the country, and left a stigma upon the character of its inhabitants,* withholding the promised blessings of civilization; blighting the fair blossom of national union with a curse; maintaining an odious ascendancy for one race, while they subjected it in its turn to their own despotic misrule; setting an example of that rapacious violence which was the prevailing vice of the times; fermenting disaffection; braving the executive government; stripping the laws of their authority, and spurning even the mediation of him, whom they affected to venerate as the vicegerent of the Almighty; whenever it happened to be exerted in favour of public tranquillity. Upon the whole, during a period of more than three centuries, amidst much indiscretion, and wonderful versatility, one purpose appears to have animated the order; that of drawing to itself the domestic government of the country, and of establishing this dominion, upon the trampled rights and pretensions of all other classes of men, which may in a degree, account for the rapid advance of the Reformation, and the downfall of this arrogant order.'

* Dr. Doyle thus describes the mass of the people of Ireland, 'The nation which was thus enslaved, put on all the habits which had been formed for them; they became ferocious, individually brave, but cowards when collected together; cunning, astute, cruel, strangers to honesty and truth,' (Vindication, p. 7). This humiliating description, thank God, is exaggerated; but at all events, the national character, however barbarous he may be pleased to consider it, had been fully formed before the Reformation. How will he exculpate his own hierarchy from the charge of having contributed, *chiefly* contributed, to the corruption of a people, whose capabilities are acknowledged to be of the very highest order?

IRELAND AND HER CHURCH.

PART III.

I.—HENRY VIII. FROM 1509—1546.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REFORMATION—THE ROYAL AUTHORITY EXERCISED WITH EFFECT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN IRELAND—THE REVOLT OF THE FITZGERALDS—THE PRIMATE MURDERED—THE REBELLION SUPPRESSED—HENRY VIII. PROCLAIMED KING OF IRELAND AND SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH ON EARTH, BY THE UNANIMOUS CONSENT OF THE ENTIRE KINGDOM.

WE have now arrived at the third period of the history of Ireland, from the Reformation in the sixteenth century, to the legislative Union in one thousand eight hundred and one.

CENTURY
16—19.
The Reformation.

At the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII, the royal authority in Ireland, which had been nearly extinct, began for the first time to be exercised in a very different way from that which was customary with the Kings of England. The earls of Kildare enjoyed much influence at this time, whose possessions lying chiefly within the pale, they did not affect an ostensible independence, but generally kept in their hands, the chief authority of

The Royal
authority
exercised.

CENTURY
16—19.

government, though it was the policy of the English court in its state of weakness, to balance them in some measure by the rival family of the Butlers.

But the self-confidence with which this exaltation inspired the chief of the former house, laid him open to the displeasure of Henry VIII.

Those lords of the old Irish race, who had ever appeared the most unfriendly to the English government, crowded round him while Lord-Deputy, and were received as his kinsmen and associates. Two of his daughters were given in marriage to O'Connor [of O'Fally, and O'Carrol, two powerful chieftains. The laws which forbad such connections were treated with scorn, nor was the administration of government at all regarded, but as it contributed to establish his own personal influence and authority. Attended by an armed rabble, he could at any time execute his revenge under pretence of maintaining the royal service. All but the partizans of Kildare seemed to be excluded from protection. A wound in the head which the deputy received, by engaging in a private quarrel with one of his sons-in-law, was thought to have disordered his intellects, and increased his extravagance. The enemies of his house were inflamed with indignation; the officers of state, and all those more immediately dependent upon the English government, were justly terrified at a conduct which threatened utter subversion to the interests of the crown.

Such men could not behold the present conduct of Kildare without the most melancholy presages. They held their meetings, and were readily joined by his personal enemies. They communicated their apprehensions, and found a ready concurrence of sentiments. They considered the disorders of the realm minutely, and

unanimously resolved to lay them before the throne. Alan, Archbishop of Dublin, took the lead in those secret consultations. On the present occasion he was assisted by the Earl of Ossory, and Sir William Skeffington, and by their united zeal and activity, the design was soon brought to maturity. It was resolved to make the master of the rolls their agent at the court of England, and to commission him in the name of the lords of the council, to lay the present state of Ireland before the king, and to implore his timely interposition.

CENTURY
16—19.

The revolt of
the Fitzge-
ralds.

This application was too interesting and too well supported, to be received with indifference, and the violence of the king's temper readily fixed on the Earl of Kildare, as the proper object of his resentment, even in those points which were not directly charged as his particular misdemeanours. He received the royal mandate to commit the government to some person for whose conduct he could be responsible, and to repair to the king without delay. The earl, conscious of his own irregularities, and awakened to an alarming sense of the secret practices of his enemies, laboured by every artifice, to evade this order; but to no purpose, the king was inflexible, and the earl had no course left, but to obey.

On his arrival he was committed to the tower, and on a premature report that he had suffered death, his son, a young man to whom he had unfortunately delegated the administration, took up arms, under the rash impulse of resentment. The primate was murdered by his wild followers;* but the citizens of Dublin, and the reinforce-

The Primate
murdered.

* Alan the Archbishop, who was most obnoxious to the rebels, as he had been the chief instrument in the disgrace of the Earl of Kildare, determined to seek refuge in England. A vessel was provided

CENTURY
16—19.

The rebellion
suppressed.

Irish sta-
tutes. Davis,
230. Leland
ii. 402.

ments sent from England, suppressed this hasty rebellion ; and its leader was sent a prisoner to London. Five of his uncles, some of them not concerned in the treason, perished with him on the scaffold ; his father had been more fortunate in a natural death ; one sole surviving child of twelve years old, who escaped to Flanders, became afterwards, the stock from which the great family of the Geraldines was restored.

Henry VIII had no sooner prevailed on the Lords and Commons of England to renounce their spiritual obedience to the Roman See, and to acknowledge his own supremacy, than as a natural consequence, he proceeded to establish it in Ireland. In this attempt he was completely successful. No sooner had Henry asserted his claim to the entire sovereignty of Ireland, than all the nobles, aware of his former severity to the Geraldines, arrayed themselves on the side of the crown. They abolished the subordinate title of ‘ Lord,’ the only one which the Pope had permitted to be assumed, and proclaimed him *King of Ireland, and supreme head of the Church on earth.*

Henry VIII
proclaimed
king of
Ireland.

This unanimity was not confined to that body of the nobility which conformed to the English customs, and

with the utmost secrecy, and the prelate embarked ; but whether by the perfidy or unskilfulness of the pilot, (a Fitzgerald) the ship was stranded near Clontarf, and Alan soon discovered by the enemy in an adjacent village. They dragged him from his bed in barbarous triumph, and led him, naked as he was, to their captain. The prelate fell on his knees before him, imploring mercy for a Christian and a Churchman.

The young Lord without deigning to reply, turned his horse and exclaimed in the Irish language, ‘ away with the churl ; ’ his caitiffs interpreting the expression in the most malignant sense, while the wretched suppliant still lifted his hands for mercy, assailed, and hewed him to pieces.

which usually took a share in the administration of public affairs. Those powerful and refractory chieftains, who had hitherto maintained a dubious struggle against the utmost force of the state, came forward on this occasion with rival zeal for the honor of royalty, and with the strongest professions of undivided allegiance.

Desmond was the first who presented himself; on the 16th of January 1540, he executed a written indenture in which he 'utterly denied, and promised to forsake the usurped primacy and authority of the Bishop of Rome, and engaged to resist and repress the same, and all that should by any means uphold or maintain it.' Shortly after, O'Connor and O'Dunne gave similar pledges. O'Donell, in his indenture, bearing date of 6th of August 1542, declares that 'he will renounce, relinquish, and to the best of his power annihilate, the usurped authority of the Roman pontiff; that he will by no means harbour, or allow in his country those who adhere to the said pontiff, but will with all diligence expel, eject, and eradicate them, or bring them into subjection to our said lord, the king.' His example was followed in a week after by MacMahon.

In the January following, O'Neil, the acknowledged leader of the northern Irish, met the king's commissioners at Maynooth, and entered into similar engagements; and in the course of that year the same was done by O'Brien, the first chieftain of Munster; by O'More, O'Rourke, MacDonel, and by the head of the DeBurgos, who was now known by the Irish title of MacWilliam. This conduct of the great lords was emulously imitated by those of inferior rank. From Connaught, from Meath, from the remotest regions of the south and north, all the most turbulent heads of the Irish tribes, all those of the old

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16—19.

English race who had adopted Irish manners, and lived for ages in rude independence, vied with each other in declarations of fidelity to the king, and executed their indentures in the amplest forms of submission.*

As these deeds are objects of considerable interest in our day, and all drawn up in nearly the same terms, a copy of one of them is inserted here.

‘This indenture, made on the 26th day of September, 34 Henry the eighth, between the right hon. Anthony St. Leger, &c., on the one part and the Lords Barry, *alias* Barrymore or the great Barry; MacCarty More; the Lord Roche, MacCarty Beagh; Thadeus M’Cormick, Lord of Muskry; Barry Odge, *alias* the young Barry: O’Sullivan Beare, Captain of his nation; O’Sullivan, first of his house; Barry Roe, *alias* the red Barry; MacDonough of Allow, head of his nation; Donald O’Callaghan, first of his house, and Gerald Fitz John, knight, on the other part, doth witness, that the said Lord Barry, &c., do agree, consent and engage, jointly

* Leland ii. 178, 182, Cox, 268, 271, O’Connor, Historical Address ii. 279; Roman Catholic writers are exceedingly puzzled to account for this conduct of the Irish Lords: the following explanation by Dr. Burke is absurd enough; yet it is the only direct attempt at a solution which I have been able to discover. ‘Ireland continued in this anomalous state until the reign of Henry the eighth; but this Prince, in consequence of the title of the *‘Defender of the faith,’* which he received from the holy see, so captivated the affections of the Irish, that he enjoyed a greater power over them than any of his predecessors. Hence even *after the schism*, he was pronounced *King* of Ireland, by a parliament held in Dublin in 1541,’ (Hiber. Dominicana, p. 30.), that is to say, they were so delighted with his *orthodoxy*, that *after he became* a heretic, they decreed him an heretical title of honor,—it was inconvenient to the good bishop to recollect, that they styled Henry not only King, but *Head of the church also*.

and separately, for themselves, their heirs, successors, assigns, tenants, and followers, that they will hold and perform all and singular articles, pledges and conditions, which are contained on their part in said indenture. "Imprimis." They and each of them, do and doth acknowledge the king's majesty aforesaid, to be their natural and liege lord; and will honor, obey and serve him, and the kings his successors, against all creatures of the universe. And they will accept and hold his said majesty, and the kings his successors, as the supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland, and they will obey and serve his lieutenant or deputy, in this kingdom of Ireland, in all things concerning the service of his said majesty, or of the kings his successors. And as far as lieth in their power jointly or separately, they will annihilate the usurped primacy and authority of the Bishop of Rome, and will expel and eradicate all his favourers, abettors and partizans, and will maintain, support, and defend, all persons, spiritual and temporal, who shall be promoted to Church benefices or dignities by the king's majesty, or other rightful patron; and will apprehend and bring to justice, to be tried according to the laws made, or to be made in such behalf, all who apply for provision to the Bishop of Rome, or who betake themselves to Rome in quest of promotion, &c.'

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Cox, 272,
quoting from
the council
book at Dub-
lin castle.

And so far from any force being used, it is recorded for the first time in her annals, that Ireland was now at peace under one acknowledged sovereign. So universal indeed was the tranquillity, that a considerable body of troops was spared for the king's service before Boulogne, where an Irishman had the honor of defeating the French champion; and another force of three thousand men, was sent into Scotland to the aid of the Lord Lennox. Even the

Leland ii.
182—186.

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great feud between the two races was forgotten for a season ; and while English and Irish crowded together from all quarters of the island to receive law from the throne, the loyal impulse with which they were animated, seemed already to have borne its most appropriate fruits in the feeling of a common country, and the kindly affections of neighbourhood.

This unanimity is the more remarkable, as being in open defiance of the denunciations of the Vatican. Eight years had now elapsed since Paul the third passed final sentence upon Henry, ‘that terrible thundering bull,’ as it is called by a Roman Catholic, in which he not only dethroned the sturdy monarch, but pronounced him infamous, cut off from Christian burial, and doomed him ‘to eternal curse and damnation.’*

The interval had been employed, with all the vigilance and skill of the papacy, in endeavouring to prepare a formidable opposition to the tardy movements of the Irish

* This bull not only requires ‘all princes and military persons, in virtue of holy obedience, to make war upon the King of England, but also required, that such of his subjects as were seized upon, *should be made slaves.*’ The language of the Pope in the present day, is not that of “*the woman drunk with the blood of the saints,*” but marked with all the insinuating subtlety of “*the false prophet.*” In a Bull issued Dec. 3, 1839, he commands, ‘that none henceforth dare to subject to slavery, unjustly persecute, or despoil of their goods, Indians, Negroes, or other classes of men,’ and the Pope reprobates such ‘offences as utterly unworthy of the Christian name,’ (See Bull against Henry VIII. in ‘Barlow’s Brutum Fulmen,’ and the Bull against slavery in the report of the African Civilization Society.) How well popery fulfils its predicted character of thinking to ‘change times and laws !’ Notwithstanding its infallibility and unchangeableness, it can decree at one time, what it pronounced at another to be utterly unworthy of a Christian name.

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government. Chronicles had been discovered or invented, in which Ireland was called the Holy Island; and thence was drawn a convincing argument, that the country belonged to the Holy See. Instructions had been issued to the Bishops in the Roman interest, that an oath of allegiance to the Pope, "in all things, spiritual and temporal," should be administered to the people at the time of confession; * curses had been denounced against all who should acknowledge the impious claims of Henry; and indulgences offered to the faithful followers of the Pontiff. The inexhaustible storehouse of prophecy, which Rome possesses among her other spiritual treasures, was opened on this great occasion; and an effort was made to stimulate the warlike propensities of the chieftains, by placing them in the Thermopylæ of the Catholic cause.†

COX, 257.

* Form of the oath.

'I. A. B, from this present hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, &c, shall and will be always obedient to the Holy See of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy Lord the Pope of Rome, and his successors in all things, as well spiritual as temporal, &c. &c. &c. I count all acts, made or to be made by heretical powers, of no force, nor to be practised or obeyed by myself, nor any other son of the mother church of Rome.

'I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, ACCURSED, that either do, or shall hold, for time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil office, above the authority of the mother church, or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her the mother church's opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto; so God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy evangelists help, &c.

† The following letter was written to O'Neil, by the bishop of Metz, in the name of the Council of Cardinals.

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But all these appeals, whether to superstition, or to enthusiasm, proved unsuccessful: it was too obvious that the opposition of Rome and its partizans, was nothing more than a struggle for temporal dominion, and not a sword was drawn in the quarrel of the ecclesiastics, during the remainder of Henry's reign and that of his son Edward the sixth.

Leland ii.
172.

‘My son O’Neil.

‘Thou and thy fathers were ever faithful to the mother church of Rome. His holiness Paul, the present Pope, and his council of Holy Fathers, have lately found an ancient prophecy of one St. Lazerianus, an Irish Archbishop of Cashel. It saith, that the church of Rome shall surely fall, when the Catholic faith is once overthrown in Ireland. Therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the honor of St. Peter, and your own security, suppress heresy, and oppose the enemies of his holiness. You see, that when the Roman faith perisheth in Ireland, the See of Rome is fated to utter destruction. The council of Cardinals have therefore, thought it necessary to animate the people of the holy Island, in this pious cause; being assured that while the mother church hath sons of such worth as you, and those who shall unite with you, she shall not fall, but prevail for ever, in some degree at least in Britain. Having thus obeyed the order of the sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the protection of the Holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the host of heaven, Amen.’

CHAPTER XII.

QUEEN MARY.—A. D. 1553—1558.

MARY'S CHARACTER AS DESCRIBED BY FRANCIS DE NOAILLES, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT THE ENGLISH COURT—THE EFFECTS OF MARY'S REIGN IN IRELAND, NOT SO DISASTROUS AS IN ENGLAND—THE REASONS WHY IT WAS NOT SO—PROMPT MEASURES DETERMINED ON FOR BRINGING THE COUNTRY UNDER THE DOMINION OF THE SEE OF ROME—THE DESIGN PROVIDENTIALLY FRUSTRATED—THE DEATH OF MARY OCCURRED IMMEDIATELY AFTER.

'THE bloody reign of Queen Mary,' says a Roman Catholic writer, 'is the dismal ditty of every nursery, yet the temper of the times neither began with her, nor ended with her.' And a good deal has been said of late, —since people have begun to disbelieve what is unpleasant to remember,—to give the world a better impression of her character.

Every right-thinking person will recoil from the thought of blackening an adversary unnecessarily, but the truth requires, that we should both expose corrupt doctrines, and the enormous cruelties by which they were upheld. If the Queen was by natural temper a mild person, the greater is the fault of the principles which led her into those crimes which have made her name a proverb. To

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Mary's character.

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The French
Ambassador
at the En-
glish Court.

know what she was in these years of bitterness, it may suffice to give a sketch by the hand of a contemporary,—not an English or Protestant writer, but a bishop in the orders of the Church of Rome,—Francis de Noailles, then residing as Ambassador at the English court ; his letter is dated May 7th 1556, and addressed to the King of France.

‘ After receiving your Majesty’s commands and having learned that Lord Clinton was returned from France the day before, I sought an audience with the Queen, and expressed to her in many words your Majesty’s satisfaction, with the friendly demonstration, and good purposes, which you had received from her by Lord Clinton. With this language, and every thing that I said to this purpose, she put on an appearance of pleasure, and said first of all, that she would never be less disposed than she had been in time past, to procure a good peace between you, Sire, the Emperor, and the King her husband, as one of the things, which of all others, she desired most. She said she had received great pleasure and satisfaction from the gracious reception, which your Majesty had given to Lord Clinton, and the good and laudable purposes which you had professed, as my Lord had reported them ; especially she felt herself much obliged to your majesty, that you had been pleased to promise to send her, as prisoners, some of her subjects, who were in France ; “ abominable wretches, heretics and traitors, well might she call them so,” she said “ in regard to their crimes, which were so vile and execrable.”

‘ She had no doubt, that as a good and virtuous Prince, attentive to the duties of a community, you would make your deeds answerable to your words, and that you would not keep them in your kingdom. For her part she would

not fail of her promise in one jot, to gain three such kingdoms, as England, France and Spain; much less in so detestable a matter, as that of her said subjects. And here she appealed, and repeated the question two or three times with a loud voice to Lord Clinton; was it not true, that your Majesty had promised to send them? Clinton replied, Yes, provided your Majesty could discover them.

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‘When I made answer, speaking of these men, as “banished men,” or “transfugees,” she prayed me not to call them so, but “abominable heretics and traitors,” and even worse if possible, although she was very sorry to have occasion to call her own subjects by such bad names. I willingly complied with her pleasure, telling her that as to this point, the good and friendly understanding, between your two Majesties, was the reason why gentlemen, and other subjects of hers, had been usually well received in the realms and countries owing obedience to your Majesty; but if those “abominable wretches and traitors” had come here, and were now in your dominions, I was assured, since they were now known as such, your Majesty would satisfy her wishes, provided they could be apprehended.

‘These demands of the Queen, were made with such vehemence, and so often repeated, that it was evident, though she forced herself to give me a good and gracious reception, the very little I said to contradict her (and it was very little) had thrown her into an extreme passion, and I took care to be on my guard, that she and her ministers should not suppose, that the intention was to excuse our not delivering up these banished men, sooner than was necessary.

‘I must needs tell you, Sire, that this Princess lives constantly in two great extremes of anger and suspicion, for which we must excuse her, because she is in a continued

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madness of disappointment, not being able to enjoy either the presence of her husband, or the love of her people ; and she is also in great fear of losing her life, by the treachery of some of her domestics, it having been lately found out, that one of her chaplains had attempted to kill her, though they do not like to say much about it.'

Her parliament a short time before, had refused their consent to a Bill for confiscating the property of the English refugees, and thus the evasive answer of the King of France was a second provocation. The war with France soon followed, and the loss of Calais ; which is said to have preyed upon her spirits, till it caused her death. There is no pleasure in reviving the remembrance of a vindictive woman, who satisfied her unhappy soul with a gloomy fanatical devotion, while she raged against one half of her subjects, with the spirit of a tigress, defeated of her prey.

The effects of Mary's reign in Ireland were not however by any means so disastrous as in England. Her accession however, was the means of totally checking for a time the progress of the Reformation in that country. The ministers of the crown knew better in that day, than they appear to do at the present, the fatal consequences, that would inevitably follow from any prompt measure of severity, inflicted on the friends and supporters of the British interest in Ireland ; such measures would in fact have endangered the connection that existed between the two countries.*

At last however, at the close of Mary's reign, prompt

The effects
of Mary's
reign in Ire-
land, not so
disastrous as
in England.

The reasons
why it was
not so.

* Much has been said of the forbearance of the Irish hierarchy, in abstaining from persecution during this reign ; and if it were even probable that they had the power to injure, one would be inclined to relieve himself from the clamour, by giving the order full credit for a single instance of moderation. But it is certain, that

measures were reluctantly determined on for reducing the country again under the dominion of the Roman See; and for this purpose, one of the first steps taken by the government, was to deprive those bishops of their Sees, who

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Measures determined on for bringing the country under the dominion of the See of Rome.

the Irish Protestants did not owe much to the lenity of either the Queen or the bishops.

In the third of her reign, the Lord deputy St. Leger was removed from his office, because it was suggested by his enemies at court, that he had formerly made some verses in ridicule of transubstantiation. It was the first article of the instructions of the new Lord deputy, and his council, 'that they should, by all good means possible, advance the honor of God, and of the Catholic church; that they should set forth the honor and dignity of the pope's holiness, and the see apostolic of Rome; and from time to time *be ready with their aid and secular force, at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries, to punish and repress all heretics and Lollards*, and their damnable sects, opinions and errors.'

The better to carry these instructions into effect, an act was passed in the following year, reviving three statutes for the punishment of heresy, the preamble runs as follows;—'For the eschuyng and avoiding of errours and heresies, which of late have risen, growen, and mouche increased within this realme; for that the ordinaries have wanted authoritie to procede against those that were infected therewith; be it therefore ordeyned and enacted by the authoritye of this present parliament, that the statute made,' &c.

It appears, therefore, that the Queen was too impartial a fanatic to make a distinction of places or persons; and that the prelates looked, with the same eagerness, as their brethren in England, for the aid of the secular arm; but the local executive could not second these charitable intentions, without disregarding common sense and the ordinary maxims of English policy. *The great contest in Ireland was, and still is, between the races, not the churches*; the usual animosities raged between the government and the natives: so that O'Sullivan, *over-catholic*, as he is justly, but somewhat ominously called by the Rockite historian, is obliged to give this character to Mary's reign, 'that though she has endeavoured to extend the Catholic reign, yet her governors and counsellors did not cease to injure and

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were favourable to the reformation, and to substitute in their places others attached to the Romish religion. A commission was therefore issued in April 1554, to Dowdall, the restored Archbishop of Armagh, Walsh, elect Bishop of Meath, Leverous, the future Bishop of Kildare, and other delegates, authorizing them to take measures for restoring the Romish religion, and especially for re-establishing celibacy among the clergy, by punishing those who had been guilty of violating it by marriage. In execution of this commission, on the 29th of June, Staples, Bishop of Meath, was deprived of his See, and in the latter end of the same year, the like penalty was inflicted on Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare, Travers, Bishop of Leighlin, and Casey, Bishop of Limerick;—Bale, Bishop of Ossory had fled beyond the seas.*

insult the Irish.' The Protestants then in Ireland were English, many of them by birth, and nearly all by descent : in allowing the bishops to burn them, the crown would deprive itself of some of its best subjects, would alarm and mortify the nobles by furnishing their old rivals with such tremendous powers, and offend the English generally, while it encouraged the Irish. Thus the flames that consumed the heretics might have kindled a civil war, in which the old enemies of English connection would have been aided by some who had hitherto been its most zealous supporters. But it would seem, that, as the Queen's bigotry grew with the decline of her health and understanding, even this danger ceased to be regarded in any other light, than as enhancing the merit of her orthodox zeal. A commission was actually signed for commencing the persecution of the Protestants in Ireland; but it miscarried on the way, and before another could be issued, the Queen was summoned to her great account.'—(Ware's reign of Mary.)

* When Queen Mary came to the throne, and the Pope's party were encouraged and emboldened to acts of violent daring, Bishop Bale was assaulted in his house, and narrowly escaped with his life,

The design entertained of inflicting on the Irish Protestants the scourge of persecution, was, however, providentially frustrated, in the extraordinary manner described in the following anecdote. 'Queen Mary, having dealt severely with the Protestants of England, about the latter end of her reign, signed a commission, for to take the same course with them in Ireland; and to execute the same with greater force, she nominated Dr. Cole one of the commissioners. This doctor coming with the commission to Chester on his journey; the mayor of that city hearing that her Majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who in discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a cloak-bag, the leathern box, saying unto him, 'Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland,' (calling the Protestants by that name.)

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The design
providentially
frustrated.

'The poor woman of the house, being well affected to the Protestant religion, and also having a brother named John Edmonds of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words; but watching her convenient time, while the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the box, takes the commission out, and places in lieu thereof, a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, wrapt up therein, the knave of clubs being faced uppermost.

after having seen five of his servants slain before his face; he was afterwards hunted from one place to another, till he reached a place of safety on the continent, where he remained for five years, until the death of Queen Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth, rendered it safe for him to return to Great Britain. Bishop Bale after his return from the Continent to England, did not seek a restoration to his bishopric, but was contented with a prebend in the Cathedral of Canterbury, bestowed on him by the bounty of the Queen.

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The doctor coming up to his chamber suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day going to the water-side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed on the 7th of October 1558, at Dublin. Then coming to the castle, the Lord Fitzwalter, being Lord Deputy, sent for him to come before him and the Privy Council, who coming in, after he had made a speech, relating upon what account he came over, he presented the box to the Lord Deputy, who causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the Lord Deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not where it was gone; then the Lord Deputy made answer, ‘Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while.’

‘The doctor being troubled in his mind, went away, and returned to England, and coming to the court obtained another commission, but staying for a wind on the water side, news came to him, that the Queen was dead, and thus God preserved the Protestants of Ireland.’

The death of
Mary.

Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by Lord Fitzwalter on his return to England, that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds, whose husband’s name was Waltershead, and gave her a pension of forty pounds per annum during her life.*

* Copied from the papers of Richard, Earl of Cork, and also from the manuscripts of Sir James Ware. See also Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, or *History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 308; *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 368.

CHAPTER XIII.

QUEEN ELIZABETH,—A. D. 1558—1602.

THE QUEEN'S MODERATION—POPE PAUL THE FOURTH'S VIOLENCE
 —THE ENGLISH BISHOPS INVITED TO ASSIST AT HER CORONATION
 —ALL EXCEPT ONE REFUSE—THE QUEEN RESOLVES TO SHAKE
 OFF THE PAPAL YOKE—THE WHOLE BODY OF THE IRISH EC-
 CLESIASTICS AND LAITY ABANDON THEIR CONNECTION WITH
 ROME—CARTE, BARRINGTON, LELAND, AND PHELAN'S TESTIMONY
 TO THE ABOVE FACT—THE NEW ORDER OF JESUITS—SAUNDERS
 AND ALLEN SENT TO IRELAND TO ACT ON THE PREJUDICES OF
 THE PEOPLE—THE REAL OBJECT WAS TO DEPOSE THE QUEEN
 —THE POPE EXCOMMUNICATES QUEEN ELIZABETH.

NOTWITHSTANDING the check thus given to the Reforma-
 tion in the reign of Mary, appearances were more favoura-
 ble than ever in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth
 had conducted herself with much quiet circumspection
 during the reign of her sister ; and although decided in
 her views of religion, showed the same moderation upon
 her coming to the throne. She invited the English
 bishops to assist at her coronation ; all except one refused.
 In the same conciliatory spirit, she caused her accession to
 be notified at Rome, in the form usually observed between
 friendly courts ; and in this instance also her condescension
 was rudely repulsed. The Pope, Paul the fourth, re-
 minded her ambassador, ' that the British dominions were
 fiefs of the holy See,' he said that ' it was a great bold-

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The Queen's
 moderation.

Invitation to
 the English
 bishops.

The Pope's
 violence.

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ness in her to assume the government without his permission ; that she could not succeed, being illegitimate ; that she deserved not to be heard in any thing, yet as he was desirous to show a fatherly affection, he would do whatsoever might be done, with the honor of the apostolic See, if she renounced her pretensions and referred herself wholly to his free favour.' But the Queen, says father Paul, understanding the Pope's answer and wondering at the man's hasty disposition, thought it profitable neither for herself nor her kingdom to treat any more with him.*

His successor, more subtle and less precipitate, endeavoured to repair the mischief by soothing overtures ; he proposed a plan of reconciliation, founded on mutual concessions ; the Queen was invited to send an ambassador and some bishops, to the approaching council of Trent ; where the delicate question of her legitimacy should be settled, he said, to her satisfaction ; the reformed liturgy should be sanctioned ; the cup allowed to the laity, and the priesthood permitted to marry. All this and more, the complying Pontiff was willing to grant, if Elizabeth would return to the unity of the Church ; power and revenue were his objects, and could these be attained, theological differences would have created little difficulty. But the Queen understood him as well as his predecessor ; 'she resolved,' says a papal bishop, with unintentional felicity, 'to shake off the yoke of the Roman See,' and proceeded to arrange the establishment of a national Church.

The Queen
resolved to
shake off the
Papal yoke.

* 'If,' says a truly respectable Roman Catholic bishop 'if in high and indignant resentment, she then made her choice, and if that choice proved subversive of a religion, the professors of which could suffer their first pastor to think and speak thus, I may be sorry, but I cannot be surprized.'—(Berington's *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzania*, Introduction.)

As soon as this determination of the Queen was known in Ireland, the whole body of the Romish priests abandoned their connection with Rome, and adopted the liturgy of the Church of Ireland, and the entire mass of the population outwardly conformed to the ritual of the established Church. In short that the whole island did actually profess the protestant faith in the time of Elizabeth, is a fact as certain, as any other in the records of history.*

Carte thus alludes to the fact. 'In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Roman Catholics, universally throughout England, observed the act of uniformity, and went to the parish churches, where the English liturgy was constantly used. They continued doing so for eleven years; the case was much the same in Ireland, where the

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The Irish ecclesiastics and laity abandon their connection with Rome.

Carte.

* One of the awful features of the latter-day apostacy, as described by St. Paul, is that of 'the Priests speaking lies in hypocrisy,' and the people labouring under a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie. At a Meeting held in the Romish Cathedral in Tuam, December, 1844, Archbishop Mac Hale in the chair, the following resolution was proposed by the Rev. John Loftus, P.P., seconded by the Rev. John Fitzgerald and adopted unanimously. 'That there never was a priesthood, more influential *in right*, and more powerless *in wrong*, than the Irish Priesthood. That this is entirely owing to the enlightened veneration of the great body of the Laity, who followed their clergy when right—who pity them when erring, and abandon them, should they be irreclaimable; and that the enlightened fidelity of the Irish people, is singularly illustrated, by a striking contrast with the English people. *The few apostate pastors of the former* falling solitary victims, at the time of the Lutheran heresy, their flocks giving a sincere tear for their fate, and a hearty imprecation to their seducers; whilst the *unfortunate* people of England, followed their bishops, who were led astray, and like the host of heaven, in the case of Lucifer, became the melancholy companions of their fall.' I need scarcely remark here, that the facts of the case are the very reverse of all this.

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bishops complied with the Reformation, and the Roman Catholics in general resorted to the parish churches, in which the English service was used, until the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. But swarms of jesuits and priests, educated in the seminaries founded by King Philip in Spain and the Netherlands, and by the Cardinal of Lorraine in Champagne (where pursuant to the views of the founders, they sucked in, as well the principles of rebellion, as what they call catholicity) coming over into that kingdom, as full of secular as of religious views, they soon prevailed with an ignorant and credulous people to withdraw from the public service of the Church.'

Berington.

Berington, a popish bishop, thus expresses himself. 'For some time the great body of the (Roman Catholic) clergy, conformed externally to the law. It was afterwards more than once publicly declared by Sir Edward Coke, then attorney general, which the Queen herself confirmed in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, that for the first two years of her reign, the Roman Catholics without doubt or scruple, repaired to the parish churches. The assertion is true, if not too generally applied, "I deny not," says father Parsons, in reply to Coke, "but that many throughout the realm, though otherwise Catholics in heart, as most of them were, did at that time, and after, as also now, either from fear or lack of better instruction, or both, repair to protestant churches."'

A.D. 1606.

Leland.

Leland in reference to the subject, says, 'However the foreign clergy and popish emissaries, might have encouraged the people to repine at the present laws, yet it is certain, and acknowledged by writers of the Romish communion, when it serves the purpose of their argument, that these laws were not executed with rigour in the reign of Elizabeth. The act which enforced attendance at the reformed

worship, under the penalty of one shilling on the absentee, met with a general compliance from the papists in England, until the excommunication of the Queen, and the industry of the jesuits, created numbers of recusants.

‘In Ireland, the remonstrants of 1644, contended that it was not at all executed in this reign. Their answers assign a reason ;—because there were no recusants ; *as all the Romish communion resorted to the established Churches.*’

The following passages from Phelan, strongly corroborates what has been already stated, by Protestant and Romish authors. ‘For eleven years the measures of the Queen were unmolested by the papal government, and received without opposition by the great body of the Roman Catholics. The laity every where frequented the churches ; multitudes of the priests adopted the prescribed changes, and continued to officiate in their former cures ; and the majority of the prelates leading, or following the popular opinion, retained their Sees, and exercised their functions, according to the reformed ritual. At length the patience of Rome was exhausted, and that spiritual sword unsheathed against these countries, which, as it would appear, is never to be returned into the scabbard. Elizabeth was excommunicated, and her subjects absolved from their allegiance by four successive Popes. Her life was assailed by numerous conspiracies ; her kingdom given up to the vengeance of Spain, (at that time the greatest power on the continent), and to the more mischievous intrigues of the new order of jesuits.’

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Phelan.

Thus the fact of the Reformation having been generally received in Ireland, by the nobles, priests and people, seems to be as fully proved, as any other in history. The Bishops (with the exception of two,) and priests of the

The new
order of
Jesuits.

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Church of Rome, all outwardly conformed: they freely substituted the common prayer for the missal, and English service for the Latin mass; they could then discover no heresy in our book of prayer, and nothing damnable in our public service. But a new light flashed upon them from Rome, and after many years conformity, they withdrew from our Church.*

* My Lord Albanley, in open defiance of all historic evidence, states in his Pamphlet on Ireland, ‘that when the Reformation was attempted to be forcibly introduced into the country, and a *new* faith proclaimed by act of parliament, when the monastic institutions, which afforded them protection were dissolved, their possessions seized, and their ministers driven out by force, a general spirit of resistance spread over the land, and the people made common cause with those, whom they considered to be their benefactors and friends.’

The Reformation was never ‘attempted to be forcibly introduced into the country.’ It was introduced and carried into effect, by the unanimous concurrence of the whole body of the people, lay and ecclesiastic. The *old* and not the new faith was proclaimed by act of parliament, and received joyfully by all the inhabitants of the land.

‘What do we find?’ says that noble champion in the cause of divine truth, the Earl of Roden in his masterly answer to my Lord Albanley, ‘not the property transferred, as stated, from one set of ecclesiastics to another, but the same persons, that were then in possession, consenting to, and effecting in conjunction with the state, a reform in religion, and subscribing, and conforming to the doctrines, rites and ceremonies of the church, as it is to this day established. Only two of the bishops, namely, Kildare and Meath, were deprived of their Sees, and this, for an act of rebellion against the Queen, in refusing to acknowledge her as the supreme governor of the clergy, as well as of the laity. During a great part of Elizabeth’s reign, the bishops complied with the alteration in the service; and so far from the adherents of the church of Rome thinking conformity a grievance, they resorted to the service of the parish

‘ The court of Rome at this period possessed, in the order of Jesuits, the most accomplished political intriguants of the day ; there was many a master-mind among the members of that extraordinary fraternity. The most exquisite

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church, convinced of its edifying and instructive nature.’ ‘ It would thus appear, that the established church, *is the church of Ireland*, both ‘ de jure,’ and ‘ de facto,’ and that the Roman Catholics are justly considered in the same light as other dissenters, with this exception, that with the former, our differences are on the essential points of doctrine ; whilst with many of the latter, we are united on the great principles of truth, and only differ as to forms and church government.’

What a striking contrast do we find in the conduct of the British bishops on the same occasion. On the accession of Elizabeth, the entire body of the bishops, with the solitary exception of one individual, refused to recognize her title to the throne, and although she consented to be crowned according to the rites of the church of Rome, which was then the religion of the country, there was but one of them, Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, who could be induced to perform the ceremony. The Rev. F. Massingberd, author of the *History of the British Reformation*, has kindly supplied me with the following account of the consecration of Archbishop Parker. ‘ There were remaining on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, three ejected bishops, who had formerly been in possession of English Sees,—Coverdale, Scory, and Barlow. One bishop of Queen Mary’s time, Kitchen of Llandaff, conformed and remained in possession. There were also two suffragan bishops of the reformed opinions, those of Thetford and Bedford, to whom was joined Bale, bishop of Ossory, seven in all, willing to continue the succession. The consecration of Archbishop Parker was actually performed by Scory, Barlow, and Coverdale, assisted by Hotchkins, the suffragan of Bedford.

The Romanists assert, that this consecration of Parker was both *illegal* and *uncanonical*, the consecrators being at the time under sentence of canonical and legal deposition, holding no sees, possessing no livings, and therefore enjoying no kind of jurisdiction. It might be well, by the way of putting an extinguisher on all such

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and refined subtlety; the most brilliant and attractive talents; the most accomplished spirit of intrigue and diplomacy, combined with all the power that religious genius and wealth could confer, were the attributes of a body, which flung itself, with all the passion of a desperate fidelity, into the service of the Church of Rome. They were found in the palace, and in the hovel; in the camp, and in the hall, leading the song of the revel to-night, and joining in the hymn of the choir to-morrow, till there was no place and no circumstance in which they had not a share.'

It was from this fraternity that the court of Rome selected its agents, who were to accomplish the work of checking the Reformation in both England and Ireland. While Campion and Parsons were sent to the former, Saunders and Allen were sent to the latter. The mode in which their operations were to be conducted

caivils and objections in future, for the English Bishops to come over to Ireland and receive consecration from the hands of our bishops, as we have '*the real succession*' in our church.

A singular story is told by H. Wharton, in his notes upon Burnet's History of the Reformation, concerning the family of Barlow, of whom Burnet believed, that he was not a married man.

Wharton says he *was* married, and had five daughters, *each* of whom married a bishop, and one was successively married to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. It was one of those episcopal ladies, of whom a story is told, by a different authority, as having attracted the attention of Ridley, who never did marry, so far, that having witnessed her conjugal attention to her husband, during a visit at Cambridge, he asked, *whether she had a sister*, the nearest approach he ever made to matrimony. This lady was Parker's wife, and the story relates to some visit of Ridley's to him, long before he was Archbishop.

was to be regulated by the circumstances of each country respectively. CENTURY
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When those men arrived in Ireland, they found the bishops, priests and laity, all going quietly to the services of the reformed liturgy. They made no opposition, and seem to have felt no repugnance to the perfect change which characterised the public services of the Church. There was generally throughout the country, that external conformity, which we might expect from a rude and untutored people, who knew but little and cared still less about the forms of religion; and it therefore became necessary, that these sacerdotal instigators of treason should adopt some means by which they could alienate the people from the Church of Ireland, and from the authority of England, by whose power it was established.

Saunders
and Allen
sent to
Ireland.

To this end it was requisite, (and there were agents not particularly scrupulous as to the means to be employed), that they should act on the ignorance, the superstition, the religious prejudices, and national antipathies of the people, against every thing English, as associated with religious debasement, and national conquest. They therefore traversed the land, preaching that Elizabeth was excommunicated and deposed, and that all her ordinances, whether civil or ecclesiastical, were invalid, as the acts of an heretical person. The equipment of the Armada was then in contemplation, to constrain England from *without*; an insurrection in Ireland was in considerable forwardness, to weaken her power *within*; while factions and intrigues were ripe in England, through the agency of Campion and Parsons. While the political horizon was thus darkened, these men conducted their measures among the Irish priests with success, and produced what in those dark times was deemed equally authoritative with the law of

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God, the papal Bull for the formal excommunication and deposition of the Queen. Hatred to England as an invader, and hatred to protestantism as a heresy, now burst forth, and spread like wildfire through the length and breadth of the land.

The object
was to de-
pose the
Queen.

The real object of these intrigues was to depose Elizabeth, and thereby bring these realms under the dominion, and within the grasp of the Pope ; thus preparing the way for the effectual subversion of the Reformation in these countries. The Desmonds were in arms, the cry of battle was heard in all the deep recesses of Ireland, the clans were gathered under their respective chiefs, and a war of extermination proclaimed in all her borders.

A. D. 1575.

His holiness the Pope was not a particle less unprincipled in the motives which he held forth for the encouragement of rebellion. He thus addresses himself to the rebels, ‘ We exhort all and singular of you, by the bowels of the compassion of God, that discerning the seasonableness of this opportunity, you will each, according to his power, aid the piety and valour of this noble general (James Geraldine, the leader of the rebel army) and fear not a woman, who, being long since bound with a chain of anathema, and growing more and more vile every day, has departed from the Lord, and the Lord from her ; and many disasters will deservedly come upon her : and that you may do this, with a greater alacrity, we grant to all and singular of you, who, being contrite and confessing, shall follow the said general, and join themselves to his army in maintaining and defending the Catholic faith, or shall forward his purpose, by council, arms, provisions, or any other means, A PLENARY INDULGENCE OF ALL THEIR SINS, &c.’

Here was abundant encouragement to rebellion ! a

plenary indulgence of all sin to those who should assist in this atrocious treason, ‘*by arms, or any other means.*’ And while this Bull appeals to the gross ignorance and superstition of the people, the next alludes to another motive, namely, *hatred to the English*: ‘Whereas by our letters of former years, we exhorted you that for the purpose of recovering your liberty, and maintaining it against the heretics, you would join with James Geraldine of happy memory, who strove zealously, to shake off from you, the yoke of the English, (the deserters from the holy Roman Church,) and whereas, that you may more vigorously second him, in his efforts against your enemies, and the enemies of God, we granted unto all, who confessing, and being contrite, should join his army, THE PLENARY remission OF THEIR SINS, &c.’

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A. D. 1558.

Again his holiness writes to the rebel O’Neil, after he had accomplished the treason, thus consecrated by the Pope: ‘*We HAVE DERIVED GREAT JOY FROM THESE TIDINGS, and HAVE GIVEN THANKS TO GOD THE FATHER OF MERCIES, who has still left in Ireland, many thousands of men, who have not bowed the knee to Baal, for these have not gone after impious heresies, or profane novelties, but have fought manfully in detestation of them, for the inheritance of their fathers, for the preservation of the faith, for the maintenance of unity, with one Catholic and apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation.*’

A. D. 1601.

Now the motive to which the appeal is here made, is to the national antipathies and prejudices of the people, consequently to all the worst passions of mankind. It was to these feelings, which rankled in the hearts of the people,—these antipathies against England, which arose from association of ideas, connected with conquest, and national dishonor,—it was to these, combined with ‘the absolution from all

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sin,' that the Pope appealed, when dealing with one class ; while all his motives were connected exclusively with religion when dealing with the other.

Let us now direct our attention to a few historical facts in corroboration of the statements now made. In 1575, James Geraldine, the individual mentioned in the Pope's Bull of this year, and one of the Irish lords, engaged in plotting an insurrection against his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth,—went over to Philip II. King of Spain, on whom Pope Pius V had conferred the dominions of the Queen, and sought assistance from him, for the Irish Romanists. He then went to Rome, where after some time he obtained from the Pope a pardon for all the bands of *robbers*,* who then infested Italy, on condition that they should undertake an expedition to Ireland, for the exaltation of the See of Rome. An army thus composed was headed by a titular bishop of Killaloe, Cornelius O'Melrian, and by the jesuit Saunders ; and it landed in Ireland not long after. This expedition however, entirely failed, but the same titular bishop, a few

* We are informed by the popish historian, O'Sullivan, a good authority in this matter, 'that in the year 1575, Geraldine of Desmond, plotting an insurrection upon a grand scale, was desirous to concert his measures with Pope Gregory, and proceeded to Rome for that purpose. He found there Cornelius O'Melrian, an Irish Franciscan, who had been recently appointed Bishop of Killaloe, and who at once became a principal in the councils of Desmond. To their united solicitations for assistance, his holiness readily consented, and granted to THE BANDITTI, then desolating Italy, a free pardon, on condition of their undertaking an expedition to Ireland. At the head of these Missionaries, the intrusive Bishop of Killaloe landed in Ireland, distributed arms and indulgences among the rebels, who flocked to his standard ; inscribed upon his banners, the device of the keys, 'because he fought for him, who had the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'

years afterwards, is found introducing supplies of men, money, and arms, from Spain, for the relief of the insurgents. Another, assuming the title of Archbishop of Armagh, came with orders from the King of Spain, that the Irish should revolt; and having excited a rebellion, he fell in battle with the royal troops. O'Hely, called Archbishop of Tuam, was sent afterwards, by one of the Irish chieftains, to the King of Spain, whom he exhorted to invade and subdue Ireland.

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When the next insurrection broke out, we find M'Egan, a titular bishop and vicar apostolic, issuing an excommunication against all who should give quarter to the prisoners taken from the Queen's army. M'Egan caused *all such persons to be put to death in his presence*; and he himself at last fell in battle against the royal army, leading a troop of horse, with his sword in one hand and his breviary and beads in the other. In consequence of these proceedings, Ireland became the scene of war for thirty years, in which the bishops, jesuits and other priests, sent by the Pope, took a most active and leading part. In this war, numbers of the poor and ignorant people were exposed to the arts of the popish emissaries; and persuaded or forced to forsake the Church, in order to show their hostility to the Queen.

Such were the measures employed to subvert the Reformation in Ireland. REBELLION, TREASON, and BLOOD. The Romish priests were the movers and instigators of all this mass of crime. The people were, and still are, the unhappy victims; and just as the work of the gospel was then stifled by the ignorant prejudices and national hatred to England, its laws, and its religion; so is the work still restrained by the same means, and the same parties. The priests still excite the worst passions

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of their deluded followers against England, and awaken every motive of hatred, against all that emanates from the sister-land.*

* It has become a kind of fashion among the popish Liberals and Tractarians of our day, to represent Queen Mary as an amiably-disposed Sovereign, and Queen Elizabeth as the reverse of all this. But it will, I am confident, appear evident, on the examination of all the facts of the case, that Elizabeth's failings were those of too much forbearance ; and that if she had at the commencement of her reign, acted with something of the resolution of her father, all the miseries which have afflicted Ireland, might have been thus avoided. She allowed the storm to arise, and assume the character of a tempest, before she attempted to allay it, and then she acted entirely on the defensive ; all that was done was solely and exclusively for the preservation of herself and her dominions. It may be safely left to the reader's judgment, whether Elizabeth, whose reign was threatened with such machinations and conspiracies, which have now been exhibited before us,—when foreign courts were thus united with the Pope to take away her life, and many plots of a similar nature were concocted at Rome during her reign, did anything more than her duty, in punishing those who were in league with her most determined enemies.

CHAPTER XIV.

QUEEN ELIZABETH :—CONTINUATION.

TWO EXTRAORDINARY FACTS—HOW TO BE ACCOUNTED FOR—THE ACT OF HENRY VIII. ENTITLED ‘AN ACT FOR THE ENGLISH ORDER, HABIT, AND LANGUAGE’—THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY—THE COMMON PRAYER TO BE SAID IN THE LATIN TONGUE—THE MELANCHOLY EFFECTS PRODUCED BY THESE ACTS OF PARLIAMENT—THE WORK OF DESTRUCTION AGAINST THE TEMPORALITIES OF THE CHURCH—THE PROOFS OF THIS STATEMENT—THE POPULAR ERRORS WITH RESPECT TO CHURCH PROPERTY—THE EXTREME POVERTY AND DESTITUTION OF THE CHURCH—THE TESTIMONY OF SIR HENRY SIDNEY AND SPENSER.

IN pursuing the history of these times, two of the most extraordinary circumstances have been brought before us, that can well be imagined. We have seen all the aristocracy of the country, coming forward as one man in proclaiming Henry VIII, King of Ireland and supreme head of the Church, and in the most solemn manner, ‘to agree, consent, and engage, jointly and separately for themselves, their heirs, tenants, and followers, that they will hold and perform, all and singular articles, pledges, and conditions, which are contained on their part in said indenture.’

‘They and each of them, do and doth acknowledge the King’s Majesty aforesaid, to be their natural and liege-

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Two extraor-
dinary facts.

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lord; and will honor, obey and serve him, and the kings his successors, *as the supreme head of the Church on earth*, immediately under Christ, &c. And as far as lieth in their power jointly and separately, they will annihilate the usurped primacy and authority of the Bishop of Rome, and will expel and eradicate all his favourers, abettors, and partizans, and maintain, support and defend all persons, spiritual and temporal, who shall be promoted to church benefices or dignities by the King's Majesty, or other rightful patrons, and will apprehend and bring to justice, to be tried according to the laws made, or to be made in such behalf, all who apply for provision to the Bishop of Rome, or who betake themselves to Rome in quest of promotion':—

And in Queen Elizabeth's day, as we have just seen, the laity are everywhere found frequenting the parish Churches, multitudes of the priests adopting the prescribed changes, and the prelates leading or following the popular opinion, retaining their sees, and exercising their functions according to the reformed ritual. And again after a period of thirty years of continued opposition to Rome, the whole body of the people, at the instigation of the Jesuits, return to the Romish Church, having imbibed the most rancorous hatred to England and the ordinances of the reformed religion. How can all this be accounted for? Perhaps after what has been already alleged it might reasonably be expected, when answering this question, we should throw the whole blame of this unexpected relapse into popery, upon the Jesuits, assisted by the power of Spain, and directed as they were, by the powers of Rome, whose energies seem to have been then, (as they now are) concentrated upon what they conceived, the true interests of Ireland. But candour obliges us to acknowledge, that

How to be
accounted
for.

all their efforts, thus aided and supported, would have fallen powerless before the power of truth, and the armour of righteousness, had not the wretched policy of England fatally combined with the plans of her enemies to arrest the progress of the Reformation.

An act passed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Henry VIII, chap. XV, entitled 'an act for the English order, habit, and language,' &c. &c,* was the first 'heavy

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An act for
the English
order, habit,
and language.

* By this act Henry VIII., founded the system of national education for Ireland. The schools were to be under the direction of the parochial clergy, and through them of the state. The children were to be instructed 'in a good and virtuous obedience they owe to their prince and superiors, and to receive instruction in *the laws of God*, with a conformity, concordance, and familiarity, in language and manners, with those that be civil people, and that do profess and know Christ's religion, and civil and politic laws, orders, and directions.'

The Diocesan Schools, for the education of the sons of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, were to be supported, as the case now is, by the clergy. In the parochial schools, the children to be taught either by the clergyman himself, or by a master paid by him.

How different is the present system of national education, which aims a deadly blow at the principle of all establishments. The clergy are superseded in the work they are *sworn* to perform, and in consequence of this, there is no provision made for 'good and virtuous obedience to the Queen, and superiors,'—*no security for instruction in the laws of God*, and consequently for the profession and knowledge of Christ's religion. The Patron of a so-called national school, may give whatever religious instruction he likes to the children. Jews, Turks, Infidels, Heretics and Christians, here stand upon the same level. If a pupil in one of these schools, should beseech and intreat the clergyman of his parish to teach him the word of God, along with his fellow pupils, he must not attend to his request, as long as a Romish Priest, acting through a blind and ignorant parent, says no. The clergyman ordained and *sworn* to

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blow,' which the Reformed church received; that act

teach every soul within the precincts of his parish, that will listen to him, is "to promise and vow" to the commissioners of education, that he will *not*;—so that at their bidding, he will deliberately shut the Book of Life in the face of that pupil earnestly and anxiously demanding the clergyman's exercise of his office.

Sir Robert Peel's advice to the Church in England, in 1839, is equally applicable to the same Church in Ireland in 1845, 'with respect to the Established Church, I hope that, rather than consent to any plan from which ecclesiastical authority is excluded, it would separate itself from the State upon this point; that it would take the education of the people into its own hands; that it would not shrink from insisting on the publication of its own peculiar doctrines; but that it would demand, that the highest respect should be entertained for its power, by its being inculcated in the minds of children, that religion formed the basis of all education. I very much doubt, whether the principles of the Christian faith, being thus inculcated among children, as good a chance of harmony would not be secured, as by telling them, religion was an open question, and that each of them was to be instructed by a minister of his own creed, on a certain day set apart for that purpose.'—(Dr. Miller's 'Crisis,' p. 8.)

The 'vital defect,' as my Lord Stanley would say, in Henry VIII.'s system of education, was the exclusion of the Irish language from the Irish people.

The following protest has been signed by the clergy of the Diocese of Ardagh.

'We, the undersigned Incumbents and Curates of the Diocese of Ardagh, feel ourselves called upon at this peculiar crisis, publicly to come forward, and declare our unanimous sentiments on the subject of national education.

'As ministers of the national and Established Church we hold ourselves bound, according to our irrevocable ordination-vows, to be ready always to instruct *all* to whom we can have access, in the word of God, contained in the Old and New Testaments, and we can never enter into a compromise, with either the government or any body constituted by it, which would have the effect of restraining

directed, that the Irish habit and apparel should be

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us at any time, or in any place, from the discharge of this our bounden duty, both to God and man.

‘We would not force ourselves as teachers on any, nor would we be parties in *compelling* any to receive scriptural instruction ; however sinfully we must consider them to act, who for themselves or their children reject it ; neither would we teach children to disobey their parents. But on the other hand, we can never formally, or by implication, recognize the right of parents over their children to make them disobey the express command of God, (Deut. iv. 9—11 ; vi. 7 ; xi. 19.) And we can never in any way or degree make ourselves partakers of the sin of those, who will thus set their authority above the authority of the great Father of us all.

‘We at the same time deny that the objection to scriptural education comes originally, or really from the children’s parents. The fact is too notorious to be disputed, that it is not the parent, but the Priest putting himself, ‘in loco parentis,’ that is the objector. We can declare that we have never known an instance in our parishes, of children being withdrawn from our scriptural schools on this account, in which the active and annoying interference of the Priest was not directly discernable, as its sole cause. And the parents have rarely yielded, until the extreme measure was adopted, or threatened, of publicly denouncing them in the chapel, or refusing to them, ‘the rites of the church.’

‘The question here, being the fundamental one, which lies between the Roman and all the Reformed churches, viz : shall the light of God’s word be free and accessible to all God’s creatures ? it would plainly be most inconsistent in us as protestants, and Protestant ministers, to identify ourselves with the papal view of the question, and thus become the instruments of delivering over the children of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, bound, as it were, hand and foot, into the power of those, whose interest it is to keep them in darkness.

‘We are accused of offering a factious opposition to government ; but this is as contrary to our inclinations, as to our principles ; and is a calumny, which our opponents themselves can hardly believe. Reduced as we are in our incomes, our pecuniary interest, (were

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abolished, and the peculiar form in which the Irish wore their hair should be discontinued.*

that consideration to influence us,) would make us glad at once to relieve ourselves of a burden, we can so ill afford to bear, by throwing our schools on the patronage and support of the richly-endowed national board : and as to professional advancement, were that our object, we should have a strong inducement to conform to the wishes of the Rulers set over us. But as we have patiently borne former trials and privations, so with the help of God, we are willing to bear the present ‘heavy blow, and great discouragement,’ which we feel has accrued to Protestantism in Ireland, from the establishment of the national board, until He, in whose hands all events, and the issues of them are, shall vouchsafe in His own time and way to send us help and deliverance.

‘We feel, that we have just cause to complain, that whilst the mistaken consciences of others, with respect to scriptural education, are treated with so much tenderness, the conscience of the ministers of the ‘true religion established amongst us,’ has been so unkindly and ungraciously disregarded. But whatever be the result, we can never consent to surrender or sell our principles ; and we are convinced, that however inexpedient our present opposition to the national system of education may appear to some, we ought, and may always commit the consequences of right actions to God ; and are never, under *any circumstances*, to “do evil, that good may come.”’

For the declaration of the Irish bishops on the same subject, see Appendix, No. 1.

* It may be amusing to some of our readers, to have a copy of this act of parliament, which was to regulate the dress of our people. The Irish of that day, appear to have anticipated by three centuries, the fashion of our day. The act thus states, that ‘no person, ne persons, the King’s subjects within this land, being, or hereafter to be, from and after the first day of May, 1539, shall be shorn or shaven above the ears, or use the wearing of haire upon their heads, like unto long locks, called glibbes, or HAVE OR USE ANY HAIRE GROWING ON THEIR UPPER LIPPES, called or named *a crommeul*, or use or weare any shirt, smock, kerchor, bendel, necker-

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It further provided, that spiritual promotion should be given only to such persons as could speak the *English* language, unless, after four proclamations in the next market town, such could not be had.* And that every archbishop, bishop &c., at the time of the admission of any person to spiritual promotion, should administer an oath to the person promoted, that he would endeavour, 'himself to learn, instruct and teach the English tongue to all under his rule, cure, order and governance; and further that he should keep or cause to be kept, within the place, territory or parish, where he should have rule, benefice or promotion, *a school to learn English.*' &c.

chour, mocket, or linnen cappe coloured, or dyed with saffron, ne yet use or weare in any their shirts or smockes, above seven yards of cloth, to be measured according to the King's standard, and that also no woman use or weare any kirtell or cote tucked up, or imbroydred, or garnished with silke, or couched, ne layed with usker, after the Irish fashion, and that ne person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree they be, shall use or weare any mantles, cotes, or hood, made after the Irish fashion, and if any person or persons, use or weare any shirt, smock, cote, hood, mantle, kercher, bendell, neckerchour, mocket, or linnen cap, contrary to the forme above recited, that then every person, so offending, shall forfeit the thing so used, or worne, and that it shall be lawful to every the King's true subjects, to seize the same, and further the offender in any of the premisses shall forfeit for every time, so wearing the same against the former aforesaid, such penalties, and summes of money, as hereafter by this present act, is limited and appointed.'

* As the *cold water process* is now in active operation, in the hopes of curing the conservative malady, *an inordinate attachment to the present government*, a hint might be taken from this act of parliament, 'that spiritual promotion should be given only to such persons as will support the national system of education, unless after four proclamations in the next market-town, such could not be had.'

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An act of
uniformity.

The Common
Prayer to be
said in the
Latin tongue.

And again, in an act of uniformity, passed by Queen Elizabeth, the preamble runs thus:—‘ Forasmuch as in most places of this realm, there cannot be found English ministers to serve in the churches or places appointed for common prayer; and that if some good means were provided, that they might use the prayers &c., in such language as they might *best understand*, the due honor of God should be thereby much advanced, and for that also, *that the same may not be in their native language*, as well from difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters: We do therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, that it may be enabled by the authority of the present parliament, that in every such Church, where the common minister hath not the use of the English tongue, it shall be lawful to say or use all their common and open prayers in the *Latin* tongue:’ which was accordingly enacted by the statute II Elizabeth, cap. XV. anno. 1559—60.*

Had the great enemy of truth been the concoctor and

* ‘In the reign of Elizabeth, the reformed liturgy was again enforced, and the English act of uniformity was enacted by the colonial parliament, and what seems a solecism in the history of legislation, in the body of this act, by which the use of the English liturgy, and a strict conformity to it, are enjoined under severe penalties; a clause is introduced, reciting that English ministers cannot be found to serve in Irish churches, that the Irish people did not understand the English tongue; that the church service cannot be celebrated in Irish, as well as the difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm could read; and what is the remedy? If the ministers of the gospel cannot speak English, he may celebrate the church service in the LATIN TONGUE, a language certainly as unintelligible to his congregation, as the English tongue, and probably not very familiar to the minister, thus authorized to use it.’—(Lord Clare’s speech on the Union.)

passer of these parliamentary and royal enactments, no surer method could have been devised to arrest at once the progress of the Reformation in a country whose prejudices, feelings, and best interests, were thus alike insulted. The interfering with non-essential customs, which long habit had made a second nature, would of itself have unsheathed the sword of resistance, in the hands of a half-civilized and enthusiastic people. But as if this were not enough, every avenue of light and knowledge, under the withering statute-book of England, was at once closed up by their being deprived of instruction in their *native language*, and either the hateful English, or the equally unintelligible *Latin* being substituted in its place.

Can we suppose any thing less than judicial blindness, to have prompted measures, calculated, at once, to exasperate prejudice, and to involve in midnight darkness, a people wedded to their own customs, and fond to excess of their own language? One generation of professing, but, alas, uninstructed Protestants passed away, and another succeeded, brought up if possible in a state of greater ignorance and spiritual destitution, than their Romish forefathers, deprived of all means of grace, and stung to the quick by the dishonour cast upon their national dress and language. Can we then wonder at the effects produced? Effects which England too justly feels the bitterness of, even at the present day. For so far in the history, the iron hand of power, had been stretched forth, unfurling proclamations, as subversive of the true principles of policy, as they were of the true principles of the Reformation.*

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The melancholy effects produced by these acts of Parliament.

* To enter fully into the course of the argument here employed, it will be necessary to revert to the crowning sin of the Anglo-popish

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Destruction
against the
temporalities
of the
Church.

We have now to trace the work of destruction, as directed against the temporalities of the Church in Ireland, begun in the reign of Henry VIII, carried on in the days of his successors, and completed, first by the act of the

aristocracy in Ireland, in passing the celebrated statute of Kilkenny in 1369. The clauses of that act, have completely alienated the affections of the people of Ireland from England, from that day to the present hour. It was that statute, which caused the cruel retaliation on the English cattle, after the massacre of 1641, which has been already adverted to. It was that statute, that originated the hateful term *Sassenagh*, which has been made such use of, at the Repeal meetings of our day, and which caused all instruction coming through the English language to be so hateful to the people.

The acts of Henry and Elizabeth now brought before us, enforcing again, almost all the baneful clauses of this statute, have left so vivid an impression on the minds of the Irish, that I fear it will never be effaced, till that country be really brought into subjection to the crown of England, or what would be still better, brought under the influence of the Gospel of Christ. The late Rev. Mr. Howells, that distinguished clergyman, said ‘that till he was truly converted to God, he was (being a Welshman) a rebel in his heart to the British crown.’

The following from Leland, vol. ii. p. 17, may give some faint idea of the attachment of the Irish to their own language: ‘Had the whole Irish race arisen as one man against the subjects of the crown of England, they must have instantly destroyed them. But the truth is, this little handful of men, for such they were, when compared to the body of original natives, had the same ground of security, with any of the particular Irish septs. They had enemies on all sides, but these were enemies to each other; nor were any concerned to espouse the quarrels of their neighbours, or mortified by their losses or defeats. Sometimes indeed, when a particular sept was in danger of total ruin from the victory of some English forces, their neighbours were persuaded to come to their rescue, *‘for the sake of the Irish language,* (as the manuscript annals express it), but without engaging further, and without conceiving themselves bound by one general permanent interest.’

House of Commons, relating to the tythe of agistment; and secondly in our day by the wholesale spoliation of Church property under Whig government, in defiance of vested rights, and of the provisions of the act of Union, and the solemn engagements to the contrary, entered into by the Romish members of the House of Commons, on their admission to its privileges.

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Let us now proceed in proof of these assertions. The declaration of the King's supremacy in the reign of Henry VIII, was accompanied by the confiscation of the lands of the monastic orders. This plunder of the regular clergy by the crown, and the transfer thereof to English Lords and Commoners, to the utter impoverishment of Irish vicarages, was subsequently and readily imitated by the Lords and English settlers, in the wholesale plunder of the secular clergy, leaving the Church in such a state of destitution, as must effectually have palsied its efforts for any useful and beneficial purpose.*

The proofs of
this state-
ment.

* For the purpose of extending and consolidating Romanism in Ireland, a large number of monasteries were established, immediately after the English invasion in the twelfth century. These monasteries of the Augustine, Cistercian, and Benedictine orders, were built and richly endowed by those English adventurers, who having obtained large grants of land, settled a considerable portion of them, as an atonement for their sins, on these establishments.

It is rather remarkable, that these richly-endowed seminaries of superstition, were generally built either on the site, or in the immediate neighbourhood, of the primitive Irish monasteries (seminaries of learning, though poorly endowed) for the purpose no doubt, of either eclipsing, or finally destroying them. And in the present day may we not trace on a smaller scale, a movement of a similar kind; for is it not obvious, that the Board of Education generally prefer establishing their schools, where scriptural ones have already existed, and we fear with similar motives,—to weaken the influence of

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16—19.

Errors with
respect to
Church pro-
perty.

But it has been so frequently asserted of late years, in contradiction of what has been now stated, that the Reformed Church has been, and is, an extravagantly-endowed one in Ireland, and that its admitted failure in converting the natives from the errors of Romanism, has

the Establishment, and strengthen the hands of the Romish church in this country. It is also a curious fact, that Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, who lived in the seventh century, states ‘that Innet set up schools throughout England to *outdo* the Irish, and to break the interests of the Culdees in that country.’

It is not perhaps generally understood, that the property bestowed upon the regular clergy of the Romish church, including a large proportion of the tythes, has been, since the time of Henry VIII. in the possession of the landed proprietors of Ireland. In consequence of which, many parishes are left without any adequate provision for a resident clergyman. (It is however, but justice to one of the best landlords, and the most truly philanthropic nobleman in Ireland, the Lord Viscount Lorton, to state, that the tythes in his possession are always conferred upon clergymen, and never expended for his own use.) Thus while the church was emancipated from Romish errors, it was at the same time deprived of all that property, that was brought into it, on the establishment of Romanism in Ireland.

Some however, may object to this statement on the ground, that tythes were a Roman impost, and introduced into Ireland at the time the Romish yoke was imposed upon us. We can however state on the authority of Lanigan, and other Romish writers of credit, that although a great increase in the number of tythed articles took place at that period, first by the decree of the council of Cashel, and afterwards by that of Dublin, yet that a modified system of tythes did exist in Ireland previous to the introduction of Romanism, and from the changes that have of late years been introduced, especially as it regards the tythe of agistment, we do not hesitate to assert, that they now bear a very exact proportion (taking into account the change of times) to the tythe system, as it existed in the primitive Irish Church.

been mainly attributable to its excessive wealth, and to the consequent indolence and neglect of its pastors, and that the remedy for these evils, is to curtail its wealth and to diffuse its redundancy, through other more wholesome channels. It will be necessary to prove, from historical documents of unquestionable authority, the falsity of this opinion, which I not only hope to do, but also to show, that contrary to the generally prevailing belief, one (and that of itself, a sufficient) cause of the failure of the Reformation in Ireland, has been the state of extreme poverty and destitution, in which that church existed from the Reformation, to a period of, I might almost add, recent date; and that independently of this, and other alleged causes of the failure of the Reformation, means highly improper and injudicious were resorted to, on the introduction of the Reformed religion into this country; namely, the selection of individuals to carry it forward, disqualified by character, and want of information, for the great work assigned to them.

If we add to this, the unpreparedness of the natives and settlers, both by their habits of life, and want of education, to receive instruction, and above all, that the language of their affections,—the only language in which *they could think*,—was, as before stated, not only neglected, but forbidden to be used, as a vehicle of religious instruction; can we wonder at the melancholy spectacle, which the history of this country presents to our view, and of the consequences that followed a policy so unfeeling and so pernicious. And yet, if none of these circumstances had impeded the progress of truth, the long and desolating wars of Elizabeth, the protracted and ruinous rebellion and massacre of 1641, fomented and sustained by the Jesuits, and the civil contests, consequent on the Revolu-

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Poverty and
destitution of
the Church.

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tion of 1688; together with endless proscriptions and confiscations, would have formed a barrier to its progress, which no efforts on the part of the Reformed clergy could have broken down, had they even been fully competent to the work assigned to them.

I shall now endeavour, as briefly as possible, to bring forward some proofs of what has been advanced. Sir Henry Sidney's letter to Queen Elizabeth, gives the following description of the state of Ireland, at the latter period of her reign.

The testimony of Sir Henry Sidney and Spencer.

A. D. 1565.

‘The pale was overrun with thieves and robbers; the countryman so poor, that he hath neither horse, arms, nor victuals for himself, and the soldiers so beggarly, that they could not live without oppressing the subject; for want of discipline they were grown insolent, loose, and idle, and which rendered them suspected to the state; they were allied by marriage to the Irish, and intimate with them in conversation. Leinster was harassed by the Tooles, Birns, Kenshelaghs, O'Morroghs, Cavenaghs, and O'Moores, but especially the county of Kilkenny was almost desolate. Munster, by the dissensions between the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, was almost ruined, especially Tipperary and Kerry; the barony of Ormond was overrun by Pierce Grace, and Thomond was as bad as the rest, by the wars between Sir David O'Brien, and the Earl of Thomond. Connaught was almost wasted by the feuds between the Earl of Clanrickard and Mac William Outer, and other lesser contests. And Ulster, which for some time had been the receptacle and magazine of all the prey and plunder, gotten out of the other provinces, and so was richer than the rest, was in open rebellion under Shane O'Neil. ‘As for religion, there was but small appearance of it, the Churches uncovered, and the clergy scattered,

and scarce the being of a God known to those ignorant and barbarous people.'

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Spencer, who passed many years in Ireland in the same reign, draws this deplorable picture of the Reformed religion in that country. 'The fault which I find with religion is but one, but the same is universal throughout all that country,—that is, that they be all papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly, and brutishly informed, that not one in a hundred knoweth any ground of religion, nor any article of his faith, but can perhaps say his Pater Noster, and Ave Maria.'

'Whatever disorders you find in the Church of England, you find these, and many more; they have their particular enormities, for all Irish priests which now enjoy the Church livings, are in a manner mere laymen, and follow all kinds of husbandry, and other worldly affairs; they neither read Scripture, nor preach, nor administer the communion. The clergy there, he adds (except the grave fathers which are in high places about the state, and some few others lately planted in their new college) are generally *bad, licentious, and disordered*.'

He observes, that there was a statute, by which it was enacted, that 'any Englishman of good conversation being brought to the bishop, should be nominated to a vacant living *before any Irishman*; but that, though well intended, little was wrought by it, for there were not sufficient English sent over; but the most part of such as came over of themselves, are either *unlearned*, or men of *bad note*, for which they have forsaken England; or the bishop *being Irish*, rejects him, or if good, he carries a hard hand over him, so that he soon wearies of his poor living.' And lastly, 'the benefices are so mean here, and

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of so small profit in those Irish countries, through the ill husbandry of the Irish, *that they will not yield any competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon.*' And then he adds, 'even were all this redressed, what good could any minister do among them, who either *cannot understand him*, or will not *hear him*; or how dare any honest minister commit his safety to the hands of such neighbours, as the boldest captain dare scarcely dwell by?'

Having so far stated his opinion as to the obstacles in the way of the Reformed faith, it may not be irrelevant to mention one of the means he recommended for their removal. 'In planting of religion' he observes, 'thus much is needful to be attended to, that it be not sought forcibly to be impressed into them, with terror and sharp penalties, *as now is the manner*, but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it is understood, and its professors despised and rejected.'

In the Autumn of the year 1575, the excellent Sir Henry Sidney, who had five times before been at the head of the Irish government, was again intrusted with the office of Lord Deputy. His thoughts and his labours were at once bestowed on the improvement of the kingdom, and the result of his investigation, respecting the deplorable condition of the Church, was made known to the Queen in a letter from which the following passage is extracted:—'If I should write to your majesty, what spoil hath been and is, of the archbishops of which there are four, and of the bishopricks, whereof there are above thirty, partly by the prelates themselves, partly by the potentates, their noisome neighbours, I should make too

long a libel of this my letter. But your majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a Church in so miserable a case. The misery of which consisteth in these three particulars; *the ruin of the very temples themselves: the want of good ministers to serve in them, when they shall be re-edified: and competent living for the ministers, being well chosen.*

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CHAPTER XV.

JAMES I.—FROM 1602—1625.

HIS TWO FAVOURITE OBJECTS—THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER AND A PARLIAMENT FROM ALL IRELAND—THE KING'S GRACIOUS PROCLAMATION—FRIGHTFUL STATE OF AGITATION—THE BO-ROUGHS ENFRANCHISED BY JAMES IN THE HANDS OF THE PROTESTANTS—THE GENERAL EXPECTATION OF THE DOWNFALL OF HERESY—IN THE UPPER HOUSE, THE ROMANISTS IN A HOPELESS MINORITY—IN THE LOWER THE PARTIES NEARLY EQUAL—THE EXTRAORDINARY CONTEST ON THE ELECTION OF A SPEAKER—THE SPEECH OF ONE OF THE ROMISH MEMBERS—SIR JOHN DAVIS ELECTED SPEAKER BY A MAJORITY OF TWENTY VOICES—THE WRETCHED STATE OF THE CHURCH DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST.

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His two
favourite ob-
jects.
The planta-
tion of
Ulster, and a
Parliament
from all Ire-
land.

Two favourite objects with James, were the plantation of Ulster, and the assembling of a parliament from *all* Ireland. The first of these, in a great measure failed, from the circumstance, that many of the grantees altogether neglected the fulfilment of their engagements, and few observed them to the extent which was necessary to the full success of the measure. It was soon found more advantageous to set the lands to Irish, than to English tenants; they required fewer advantages, and could therefore be content with a lower share of the return; or in

other words, they could afford to pay a higher rent, and to give their labour for lower wages ; they were less independent in their habits, and accustomed to submit, without a murmur, to burdens and exactions. They had been slaves, and when set free, they were unconscious of the freedom, of which they had no previous apprehension.*

As a preparatory step to the assembling of a parliament for all Ireland, the king, in the third year of his reign, issued a most gracious proclamation, declaring that ‘all the inhabitants of this kingdom, without difference or distinction, are taken into his majesty’s gracious protection, and to now live under one law, as dutiful subjects of our Lord and monarch.’ The statute of James I, cap. V., abolished all distinctions of race between English and Irish, ‘with the intent that as the statute expresses it, “they may grow into one nation, whereby there may be an utter oblivion and extinguishment, of all former differences and discord betwixt them.”’ †

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The king’s
gracious pro-
clamation.

* We may observe, that there cannot be a fact more illustrative of the state of the country, and of the consequences of these arrangements, here briefly noticed, than that the London adventurers in the reign of Charles II, offered to resign their large property, together with all their mesne profits, in consideration of being reimbursed their principal, with interest at the rate of three per cent. Lord Bacon however, had formed a very different opinion as to the result of this measure. In a letter to Villiers in 1616, he advises, ‘that the oath of supremacy should by no means be tendered to recusant magistrates in Ireland. The new plantation of Protestants,’ he says, ‘must mate the other party in time.’—(vol. ii. p. 530.)

† ‘Unhappily there had grown up during the first period, another, and alas, a more inveterate source of differences and discord between the people, I mean the Protestant Reformation, &c.’ ‘The intent of the statute, (James I. cap. v.), was thus frustrated, the

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The Romanists in consequence of these enactments had little more to look for; they were fully in possession of all the privileges which they now enjoy. The doors of both houses of the legislature lay wide open to

discord between the Protestant and Catholic parties, prevented the Irish from growing into one nation, and still prevents them from being one nation; *the fault however has been, and STILL IS, with the government; is it not time it were totally corrected?*—(O'Connell's Memoir, pp. 24, 25.)

The government are really and truly so anxious 'to correct this fault,' and pay so much attention to any advice coming from Mr. O'Connell, that it is a sad pity he did not inform them, how the thing was to be remedied. Every preliminary step has been already taken, on *their* part, for this purpose. All the outposts of our Protestant constitution have been already surrendered, *though not very honourably*, into the hands of their opponents. The church alone, the last link of the chain that unites the two kingdoms, still indeed exists, but in a crippled state, and all that is now required, is, to know the best way, in which the last finishing stroke can be given.

There were two ways adopted in former times, with much success in France, 'to correct this fault.' The one was the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, the other the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The first of these measures would not answer at the present day, as it is the policy of the church of Rome to deny such doings altogether; and only for the unfortunate medal stamped at the Vatican, in commemoration of the first of these events, it would be equally, with the gunpowder plot, and the Irish massacre in 1641, denied in toto.

The latter mode might answer better in this day of liberality and colonization. Mr. O'Connell assures us, (and he is veracity itself,) 'that Oliver Cromwell in his day, found transports, for transplanting eighty thousand Romanists to the West Indies, from a province in Ireland, which he stated a little before to 'be literally depopulated.' A similar measure might be easily carried into effect, in a country 'of ships, colonies and commerce' like ours. And that would indeed be a *radical* mode of 'correcting the fault,' committed by the government, in *tolerating* the

them, their civil privileges were ample, and it was then in their power by a conciliatory conduct to raise themselves to an equality with the most favoured class of subjects, as the whole nation enjoyed the undisturbed exercise of their religion.

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Things were in this state, or in rapid progress towards it, when James, in 1613, resolved to summon *the first national parliament for all Ireland*. In a moment, the whole country was in a frightful state of agitation. Activity corresponding to the phrenzied excitement, which had banished all sobriety from the minds of the Romanists, was displayed in preparing for the election. The aristocracy of the pale, long exercised in civil intrigues, and now the professed leaders of a rancorous opposition, had their agents in all parts, soliciting the freeholders of better rank, while the priests and lawyers, were indefatigable in their exertions among the lower classes; oaths of association, promises and threats, blessings and anathemas, hints of some undefined, but imminent danger; and at the same time, assurances from ancient prophecies, that if true to the Church, they should speedily be relieved from the yoke of heresy: all these were employed with an industry which has served as a model for the emulous labours of later times.

Frightful
state of agi-
tation.

Protestant faith in Ireland. But, seriously, would not the true way of 'correcting this fault,' be, for the Romanists to discard the *novel* doctrines, contained in the twelve additional articles, annexed by Pope Pius the fourth, to the Nicene Creed, and fall back upon the ancient Catholic and Apostolic Church of St. Patrick in Ireland. Then as an entire nation we could *demand* justice for Ireland, with the full assurance of success, we could demand the restoration of the property of our sixteen bishopricks, taken from us in direct violation of the coronation oath and the articles of the union, so that provision could be made for the religious instruction of the entire body of the people.

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The cause of the party was declared to be the cause of God, and the support of a Protestant, or of a Romanist who attended the reformed worship, ‘to hear the Devil’s word,’ was denounced as a mortal sin. Ecclesiastical students, and priests of all orders, who were then dispersed in great numbers over the continent, with the cavaliers engaged in the service of Roman Catholic powers, crowded eagerly home on this important occasion, to animate the hopes, and share the labours of their brethren.

The boroughs
enfranchised
by James in
the hands of
the Protestants.

The struggle which ensued was fierce and dubious. The boroughs newly enfranchised by James, were almost exclusively in the hands of Protestants,* and the numerous forfeitures of the last reign, with the recent plantation of

* One striking feature in ‘the spirit of the age,’ is the contempt manifested in our day, towards the wisdom of our forefathers. James I. commenced his system of conciliation, by providing for the preservation of the British interest in Ireland; and the wisdom of his measures was strongly manifested in the proceedings of his first parliament. The liberality of our day will admit of no distinction between *truth and error*; and ignorantly supposing that this is the question at issue, our legislators have pulled down almost all the outworks that were erected for the preservation of the connection between the two countries; but no concession on the part of the British Government ever has, or ever will advance, in the slightest degree, the cause of tranquillity in Ireland, simply because it is not the interest of the agitating party to be conciliated.

The Boroughs which King James established have been thrown open. The corporations have been reformed, or in the language of Irish impartiality, thrown into the opposite scale. The representative power has been conferred on the populace, to the exclusion of property; and the natural results flowing from these measures are, that the British interest in Ireland, the object of so much care and anxiety in former days, is now nearly extinct, and the whole power

Ulster, had given them a respectable but subordinate landed interest. In the countries cities, and older corporations, the Romanists had generally a preponderating weight. From the less showy character of their con-

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of the Romish population is directed to the main object, always in view, *the separation of the two countries.*

This has been the gradual work, both of the Whigs and Tories, for the last half century. A Tory Lord Lieutenant, preserving the appearance of supporting our Protestant institutions, a Whig Secretary at the same time undermining the foundations on which our institutions are built, with the cry of impartiality on their lips, their actions developing a system of partiality, scarcely to be equalled in the history of these kingdoms. The friends of British connection, who had sacrificed thousands upon thousands in the cause of truth and justice, have been themselves sacrificed in their turn, as men of extreme opinions.

In the same way as the throwing up of a straw tells the direction of the wind, we may here notice one out of many instances that have lately occurred, in proof of what has been now stated. In the month of June, 1843, ten or twelve Protestants, on their way to an anti-repeal meeting at Dungannon, were attacked by a body of some hundred Romanists, and dreadfully beaten. One of the party, on his way for medical assistance, was met by a party of friends, who on hearing of the outrage committed on their brethren, instantly ran to their relief. On their approach, the Romanists fled in all directions; and the Protestants, very much to their discredit, broke the doors and windows of some of their houses, and then brought off the wounded men.

A few weeks after this transaction, a Radical member in the House of Commons, asked Lord Eliot, 'whether the government had received any official account of the daring outrages, committed by a party of riotous Orangemen, and if so, had ministers taken measures to curb the violence of these lawless partisans.' Our readers must be aware that Orangeman is a name for Protestant, and that every friend of British connection, is, therefore in the estimation of the two leading parties in the state, 'a partisan.' The reporters inform us, that this question of the Radical member, was answered

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stituency, the return of the Protestant candidates was neither preceded, nor accompanied by much popular sensation. On the contrary, the strength of the others

by general laughter ; but as my Lord Eliot cannot understand a joke, 'he replied to it with all solemnity, and assured the honourable member, that every effort was making on the part of government to bring the Protestants to justice ; one hundred pounds was offered for their conviction,' &c.

At length my Lord Jocelyn ventured to ask, whether the government intended to bring to justice the persons who had originated the attack on the anti-repealers ? What was my Lord Eliot's reply ? 'If the parties involved in this transaction were identified, they would undoubtedly be brought to justice, but he was not aware that any of them had yet been apprehended' ! Was Lord Eliot aware, when he said this, that the Protestant retaliators were not yet identified, and of course not yet apprehended ; and yet that a reward of one hundred pounds, for the prosecution to conviction of such Protestants, had been offered ; but no reward whatever for the conviction of the Romish instigators of the riot ; and why ? because they were unknown, and not identified.—This is Irish legislation.

In consequence of what has been now stated, the Protestant Confederation Society of Benburb, passed unanimously, the following resolution,

Resolved, 'That viewing with alarm, the coldness and apathy of the government, on the question of the repeal of the union, and the impunity with which those, whose avowed intention is to dismember the empire, are permitted to disturb the country, we are reluctantly withheld from placing our confidence in her Majesty's Ministers, no matter how plausible their professions, when we see their treatment of the anti-repealers at Dungannon, offering a reward for their punishment, and none for that of those, whose way-laying and ruffianly assault, first led to the commission of the crime ; and while we will, (relying on the divine aid) repel any attack, that may be made on us, we will in every other respect, remain neutral until we see the laws firmly and impartially administered.'

And yet Sir Robert Peel declares with prodigious solemnity, that

lay in those places, where feeling was most excited by the contest, and expectation proportionally raised by the event.

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‘The quality of the vanquished Protestants, many of

‘we have tried to govern Ireland, not exclusively through the agency of party, but we have tried to govern on the principles of justice and impartiality.’ The present government instead of adopting the true principles of justice and impartiality, by showing kindness to both parties in the country, holds both at a distance, and bestows its favours on the most neutral persons that can be found ; no policy can be more wretched. Every conscientious and consistent churchman must protest against Romanism as idolatrous and superstitious, and every honest and sincere Romanist must denounce the Church of England, as heretical and schismatical. To exclude, then, from favour in Ireland, all who fall into what is now called extreme opinions, upon religion and politics, is to exclude all the best men in the country.

There would be no difficulty whatever, in making these extremes work well together, if they felt that the government had at heart the welfare of both. The chief reason, why parties formerly disliked each other, was that government was in the habit of giving favours only to one party ; but when a government like the present gives its favours to neither, the natural consequence is, that both join in dislike and contempt of that government.

In regard to the bestowal of offices, the government should be faithful to the emancipation act, and exclude no man on account of his Romanism ; but it should at the same time most distinctly and emphatically declare, that it would never give an appointment to any man, *because* he was a Romanist. Let the government by all means reward its friends and supporters, in proportion to their ability and good character, taking care that a man’s Romanism shall be no hindrance to his preferment : but to give place and emoluments to its opponents, *on account* of their Romanism, is weak and foolish in the extreme, and is the very thing which the present government has done, without any prompting or urgency.

Now on the other hand look at the false position, in which the ministers have placed themselves, with respect to the Protestants, in

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whom were privy councillors, and supported by all the influence of the crown, and their party, while their opponents, were young barristers, whose chief recommendations were some factious notoriety, and the favour of the

the debates on Ireland, in 1843. The attacks on the church by the opposition were exceedingly bad, but the defence of the ministerial advocates was infinitely worse. The ministers throughout the debates, seemed to admit, *as a crime*, any zealous devotion to the cause of divine truth, and tacitly allowed that it was their duty not to make any appointments from among its supporters; but not being able to select fit and proper persons in the church from the ranks of the neutrals, or for some other reasons, unknown to us, they have been compelled to depart from their system; but how do they defend themselves? ‘You promoted such a person, because he was a zealous protestant?’ No, we deny it; we promoted him, because his other merits were not to be overlooked, and in them was merged the infirmity of his Protestant zeal!! And do not ministers distinctly and expressly declare, that all their future patronage in *church* and state, shall be directed, solely with a view of conciliating the Romanists, who are now in open hostility to the government, with the avowed intention of dismembering the empire.

By the bye, there is a curious story, taking the round of the newspapers at present, April, 1844, of a letter said to have been written by Sir Robert Peel to Earl de Grey, respecting the mode of dispensing church patronage in Ireland *in future*. This highly important subject has been noticed by Dr. Miller, in his admirable pamphlet, ‘The present crisis of the Church of Ireland considered:’ He alludes to this subject in the following passage:—‘A rumour has been spread, a disavowed rumour I acknowledge, that the patronage of our church, especially in its highest order, is to be employed to gain the acquiescence of the clergy. Whether it had any real authority, will soon be sufficiently apparent in the conduct of the government; but it seems already to have operated, as might naturally have been expected, in calling forth from among our clergy some advocates of the national system. A more elevated advocacy has recently appeared in the form of a circular letter, addressed by the Archdeacon of Meath, under the

priesthood, gave somewhat of mystical import to their defeat: it seems as if the Church had been struggling against the utmost power, which her great adversary could array against her; the strength of her cause was displayed in the feebleness of her weapons, and the issue hailed by the exulting multitude, as ominous of the approaching downfall of heresy.

Elated by their victories, the Romish members set out in triumphant procession from the scenes of their respective contests, to the seat of government. The rustic population, men, women and even children, received them with shouts of tumultuous greeting, and admonitions to take care of the Catholic faith; as they passed along, the contagion of enthusiasm, added incessantly to their cavalcades, and they made their entry into the capital at the head of troops of armed retainers. Priests crowded to Dublin from all quarters of the country, to animate and direct the

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General expectation of the downfall of heresy.

authority of his bishop, to the clergy of that diocese, calling on them to communicate to him their opinions on the question, but in effect inviting them to declare their adhesion to the board. For all we have the answer already given by the Primate, and a great majority of the bishops, on the part of the church, and lately urged by Mr. Ross, in his excellent reply to Dr. Woodward; 'that it cannot acquiesce in a system, which does these three things; which provides for teaching of those "erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word," which the church is pledged to be ready, with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away,—which limits, and puts constraint upon the teaching of holy writ, of that truth of which the church is the keeper and witness,—and which to a certain extent, subjects the ministers of the Church of Ireland to the anti-scriptural principles and regulations, and to the usurped authority of the Church of Rome.' *Our refusal is founded on principles, which admit of no compromise, and therefore cannot be affected by any consideration of mere expediency.*—(p. 14.)

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*Desiderata
Curiosa
Hibernica*,
vol. i. and
Cox. *Hiber*,
Anglicana.

In the upper
house the
Romanists
in a hopeless
minority.

In the lower
the parties
nearly equal.

Contest on
the election
of a speaker.

exertions of their representatives; numbers also of private men, whose turbulence laid eager claim to the title of religious zeal, were attracted by these indications of a coming storm, and hastened to a spot, which promised to find excitement for their lawless indolence, and alleviate the irksomeness of peace.

The parliament met on the eighteenth day of May 1613. In the upper house, the transfer of the episcopal peerages, the extinction of the order of mitred abbots,* and the absence of Tyrone and other disaffected lords, had left the Romanists in a hopeless minority. In the lower house the parties were nearly equal; of two hundred and thirty two members, who composed that assembly, there were in attendance, one hundred and twenty-five Protestants, and one hundred and one Roman Catholics; the first business of the commons was to choose a speaker; an affair which involved opposing sects in abrupt and indecent hostilities.

On the one side Sir John Davis, the attorney-general, was put in nomination, and on the other Sir John Everard, a popish knight and lawyer, who had been a judge, but to avoid the oath of supremacy, which for some reason, now unknown, was pressed upon him, had retired on a moderate pension. It was the custom in those days, that a division should be effected, by the retiring of one of the parties to an anti-chamber. This movement was now unguardedly made by the Protestants, who, on their return into the house, with an ascertained majority of twenty voices, were astonished to find Everard in the speaker's chair.

* These particulars are feelingly mentioned by the titular Bishop Burke.

We are informed by Roman Catholic writers, that when the Protestants had left the room, a zealous member of the other party, addressed his brethren as follows:— ‘ They are gone, ill betide them, and they have left us, as it is our right to be, in possession of this house ; wherefore seeing that we have prospered thus far, we ought thankfully to pursue the course which God seems to have pointed out, by setting up here that holy faith for which, if necessary, we should be ready to die. We are encouraged to this, by the example of our fathers, and kinsmen, who fighting for the Catholic faith, obtained an honourable death, and a glorious immortality. Should it be our lot so to perish, we shall be at least their equals in renown ; but if we avoid their indiscretions, higher fame, and happier fortune will attend us. Nor is there reason to apprehend that, in so doing, we shall trespass ought against the king’s majesty, seeing that the same should be his special care, and that nothing is more necessary either for his soul’s salvation, or the righteous ruling of his kingdom. Come then, let us maintain that religion, for which it is honourable to fight and seemly to die, and which to exalt is the highest glory of man.* First of all let us chuse for ourselves a speaker and leader.’

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Speech of
one of the
Romish
members.

* What a continued *unity of operation* do we behold in the opponents of divine truth. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we have an intrusive Romish bishop, leading on to rapine and slaughter ‘ the banditti,’ sent from Italy by the Pope of that day, to suppress the Reformation by brute force. We have now before us, a member of the first parliament for all Ireland, exclaiming, ‘ let us set up here that holy faith, for which if necessary, we should be ready to die, we are encouraged by the example of our fathers and kinsmen, (alluding to the preceding reign,) who fighting for the Catholic faith, obtained an honorable

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16—19.

This address was well received and Everard installed as speaker.

When the Protestants re-entered the room, they insisted

death and glorious immortality.’¹ We shall see also in the reign of Charles 1st, on the occasion of the horrible and anti-christian massacre of the Protestants in 1641, the general synod of the Romish clergy assembled at Kilkenny, declaring that rebellion, which they called ‘a war, to be lawful and pious, and exhorting all persons to unite in their righteous cause.’ And in our own day, we have another intrusive bishop, at the repeal meeting in Mullingar in 1843, courageously declaring his willingness to die for the good cause, and indignant at the thought, that the very men, who gave them more than they ever asked, ‘were too keen, too determined to go on with their insidiousness, and to give them, (poor fellows) even fair play to die for their country ;’—what a monster grievance that must be for Catholic Ireland !

Bishop Higgins, is one of those, who have partaken of the bounty of the British Government, as a Professor in the College of Maynooth, and yet he exclaims, ‘I am but a humble man ; I am nothing, I not only belong to the people, but I am proud to proclaim it to you, I belong to the very humblest class of the people, I do speak it with pride, for to no aristocrat on the earth, do I owe any thing, *save the unbounded contempt, that I have for the whole class,*’² (deafening shouts of applause followed the delivery of this sentiment.)

L. Legendre, (says M. A. Thiers in his history of the French revolution), ‘belonged’ (like the bishop) ‘to the humblest class of the people, he was a sailor, and afterwards a butcher in Paris. At the breaking out of the revolution, he was one of the earliest, and most violent leaders of the mob. In 1793, he voted for the King’s death, and the day before his execution, proposed to cut him into eighty-

¹ This speech appears to have been the model, for all the repeal effusions of the present day.

² What a declaration from a man professing to be a Christian bishop !

vehemently, that he should leave the chair, and others retorted with equal ardour, that he had been legitimately chosen ; that a speaker could be elected only within the house, and that those who retired had forfeited their right of suffrage. Stung by the trick thus practised on them, the proposer and seconder of Sir John Davis led him up to the chair, and placed him on Everard's lap. A violent tumult ensued, and had not the viceroy established the precautionary etiquette, that the members should leave their swords at the outer door, the senate-house would have been polluted with the mutual slaughter of its factions. In the end the Romanists were worsted ; the chair was left to Davis, and the house to his supporters.*

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Sir John
Davis
elected.

From the temper thus manifested by the commons, let us briefly advert to the condition of the Church during this period. Carte, in his life of Ormond, gives the follow-

four pieces, and send one to each of the eighty-four departments. He was one of the chief instigators of the atrocities at Lyons, and at Dieppe, and whenever the people complained for the want of bread, he answered, WELL, EAT THE ARISTOCRATS!! ‘*What an unbounded contempt he must have had*’ (like the bishop) ‘*for the whole class.*’

* ‘The jurisdiction of parliament being now extended all over Ireland, King James created in one day, forty close boroughs, giving the right to elect two members of parliament in each of these boroughs to thirteen Protestants, and this in order to deprive his Catholic subjects of their natural and just share of representation, —(O’Connell’s Memoir, p. 25, 26.)

These boroughs had originally a considerable number of freemen, annexed to them, who had votes, as well as the thirteen burgesses, mentioned by Mr. O’Connell ; and this was done by King James, ‘not to deprive his Catholic subjects of their natural and just share of representation,’ but to preserve the rights and privileges of all his majesty’s loyal subjects.

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Ormond, vol.
i. p. 17.
The state of
the Church.

ing extract from King James's letter, of July 8, 1609. 'He found the estate of the bishoprics in Ulster much entangled, and altogether unprofitable to the bishops, partly by the challenge which the late temporal Irish lords, made to the church's patrimony within their countries; hereby to discourage all men, of worth and learning, through want of maintenance, to undertake the care of those places, and to continue the people in ignorance and barbarism, the more easily to lead them into their own measures; and partly by the claims of patentees, who, under colour of abbey and escheated lands, passed by patent many of the church lands, not excepting even the sites of cathedral churches, and the places of residence of bishops, deans, and canons, to the great prejudice and decay of religion, and the frustrating his religious intent for the good government and reformation of those parts.'

'Nor were the parochial churches, (continues Carte,) in a better condition than the cathedrals. They had most of them been destroyed in the troubles, or fallen down, for want of covering; the livings were *very small*, and either kept in the bishops' hands, by way of commendams and sequestrations; or else filled with ministers *as scandalous as their incomes*; so that scarce any care was taken to catechise children, or instruct others in the grounds of religion; and for years together divine service had not been used in any parish church throughout Ulster, except in some principal towns.'

CHAPTER XVI.

CHARLES I.—FROM 1625—1648.

AN ACT PASSED FOR ABOLISHING ALL DISTINCTIONS, AND FOR THE PERPETUAL SETTLING OF PEACE AND TRANQUILLITY—IN 1640 THE KING INFORMS THE LORDS JUSTICES OF AN EXPECTED REBELLION—THE WARNING NOT ATTENDED TO—THE ABBEY OF MULTIFERNAM, THE SEAT OF CONFERENCE—TWO DISPATCHES FROM SIR WILLIAM COLE OF ENNISKILLEN—DISREGARDED ALSO BY THE GOVERNMENT—A PROVIDENTIAL OCCURRENCE DISCLOSES THE CONSPIRACY—THE FORTUNATE ARRIVAL OF SIR FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY—AN ORDER FROM THE CAMP OF SIR PHELM O'NEIL, FOR A GENERAL MASSACRE,—THE PROGRESS OF THE REBELLION—AWFUL RETRIBUTION OF CROMWELL AND IRETON—THE DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE CHURCH.

By the X and XI of Charles the first, it is provided, as the preamble says, 'For the abolition of distinctions and differences between his majesty's said dutiful subjects of the said realm of Ireland, and for the perpetual settling of peace and tranquillity among them,' "That various statutes then in force, which made invidious distinctions between the English and Irish, should be repealed." Nine years

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An act
passed for
abolishing
all distinc-
tions.

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after the passing of this statute, the perpetual peace, which it was intended to promote, was suddenly interrupted by the rebellion and massacre of the Protestants in the year 1641.

While the king was employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, and was preparing to return to England, in order to apply himself to the same salutary work in that kingdom, he received intelligence of a dangerous rebellion which had broken out in Ireland, with circumstances of the utmost horror, bloodshed and devastation. Before the close of the year 1640, the king sent information to the lords justices,* ‘That an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen, with some good old soldiers, had passed over from the continent, and that the Irish friars abroad were in expectation of a rebellion;’ but the honest imbecility of one deputy, and the designing passiveness of the other, contributed to render the warning ineffectual.

The king
informs the
Lords Jus-
tices of an
expected
rebellion.

The warning
not attended
to.

When the moment for action drew nigh, the fanaticism of the multitude was maddened by a rumour, that the puritans had resolved to exterminate the Catholic faith; priests and cavaliers arrived more openly and in greater numbers, bringing assurances of succour from the Pope and Cardinal Richelieu; the Spanish too, it was said, the ancient patrons of the church and people of Ireland, would not withhold their support in this great emergency. In the mean time the leading ecclesiastics, and the few lay chiefs to whom it was judged expedient to communicate matters of such critical importance, continued to meet and concert their measures.

Their favourite resort was an old Franciscan abbey in the county of Westmeath, a place which from its retired,

* Borlase and Parsons.

yet central situation, and the handsome accommodation it afforded to clerical visitors, was judiciously chosen as the seat of conference. At the dissolution of the monasteries, Multifernam had been purchased by a recusant alderman of Dublin, who restored it to the original owners; and by the industry of these fathers, it was refitted in a splendor of which Ireland had, in those days, very few examples. A chapel in perfect repair, an altar graced with a respectable supply of pictures, images, and relics, and a choir provided with singers and an organ, at once recalled the memory of better days, and gave assurance of their return; and what was more to the present purpose of the hierarchy, there were several spare apartments, with suitable stores and offices, for the entertainment of strangers, both horse and foot. As the season advanced, the visits to the abbey became so frequent as to attract observation; and some of the more timid or obnoxious of the neighbouring Protestants, quitted the country before the summer was over.

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Early in the month of October, an assemblage of the principal Romish clergy, together with some laymen, was held in the abbey of Multifernam. In that assembly it was debated, what course should be taken with the English Protestants, when they should be at the mercy of the general insurrection. The more moderate proposed, that they should be simply banished from the kingdom. The King of Spain, they said, in expelling the Moors from his dominions, had suffered them to depart unmolested. Others exclaimed against the indulgence granted to the Moors, as contrary to the express opinion of the Spanish council, and highly detrimental to Spain and all Christendom. They contended that to dismiss the English unmolested, would be but to give them the opportunity of

The abbey of
Multifernam.

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16—19.

returning with double fury to regain their possessions, and execute their revenge, and that a general massacre was, therefore, the only safe and wise measure. A third party were for taking the middle way. The opinions of the laity had their corresponding shades. One party of the conspirators spoke of what they called a rational reform, which however consisted of a seizure of all Protestant property, and the extinction of the Protestant religion. They demanded that the government of the country should be put into the hands of two lords' justices, both Romanists; that the Romish prelates should sit in parliament; that all statutes against popery should be repealed; and that Romanism should be the only religion established in the kingdom. Others proposed the expulsion of British settlers; others were resolved on driving out the new created lords, and all the old ones who refused to conform to Romanism. As their confidence increased, their conceptions became more extravagant. Some of them talked of raising an army of 200,000 men in Ireland. From these they were to send 30,000 men to invade England, supported by France and Spain, and thus to reduce England into obedience to his holiness the Bishop of Rome.

Through the rest of the island, not one note of fear, or of preparation, interrupted the awful tranquillity of that summer. Twenty-seven years before, it had been declared by one, who had studied the aspect of the times, that 'whenever a favourable accident should happen, the Sicilian vespers would be acted in Ireland; and ere a cloud of mischief appeared, the swords of the natives would be in the throats of the Scotch and new English through every part of the realm.*' With the exception

* The Author of the discourse of Ireland, in the *Desiderata Curiosa*, i. 435.

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of one particular,* the prediction was literally fulfilled; on the twenty-third of October the carnage began; on the thirtieth the order for a general massacre was issued from the camp of Sir Phelim O'Neil; and shortly after, the manifesto of Bishop MacMahon proclaimed the commencement of *a war of religion*.

The principal agent in fomenting this plot, was Roger Moore, the head of an Irish family once powerful in Leinster. He engaged in his project a kinsman, Richard Plunket, a man equally vain and indigent; among the northern Irish he practised successfully with Connor Macguire, baron of Enniskillen, MacMahon, Philip Reily, and Turlogh, brother of Sir Phelim O'Neal, the most considerable of his name and lineage then resident in Ulster. Under pretence of making levies pursuant to the king's commission for the service of Spain; Plunket, Hugh Byrne and Sir James Dillon, were particularly active in raising troops. Sir Phelim O'Neal, a more dangerous partizan than the rest, now embarked with them; and after some delay and disappointments, they made their final arrangements for the 23rd of October. Some of the leaders with a few chosen men, were to assemble in Dublin and seize the castle with the arms and stores, and on the same day operations were to commence in the country, where the different leaders had distinct posts marked out; which they were to attack and take, and then if necessary, detach aid to their associates in Dublin.

'The design,' says the historian, 'was nothing less important, than the utter subversion of all the late establishments of property, restoring the native Irish to all that they had lost by the rebellions of their ancestors,

* The insurgents were ordered to spare the Scotch settlers.

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16—19.

or the decisions of law ; and procuring an establishment for the Romish religion with all the splendour and affluence of its hierarchy.'

The 22nd October arrived, and the lords-justices seemed to sleep in full security. On the death of Strafford, the Earl of Leicester, descended from Sir Henry Sidney, so famous in Ireland, had been nominated lord-lieutenant of this kingdom ; but his commission was delayed, and the administration of government still continued in the hands of Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase. The first was vigilant only to increase his fortune and consequence, the latter was an aged soldier, indolent and ignorant, except in the business of his profession. On the 11th day of October, an express from Sir William Cole, a gentleman of Enniskillen, informed them of an unusual and suspicious resort of various Irish to the house of Sir Phelim O'Neal : of many private journeys made by Lord Macguire ; of despatches sent to their different friends ; of an extraordinary solicitude for levying men, as if for the service of Spain, and of other circumstances alarming to the friends of government.

Two dis-
patches from
Sir William
Cole.

The lords-justices still continued insensible to their danger. On the 21st, Cole despatched a full account of the conspiracy, which had by this time been revealed to him by two accomplices. Yet this instance of his zeal proved equally ineffectual ; for his letter to the justices was either intercepted or suppressed.

Disregarded
by the Go-
vernment.

A providen-
tial occur-
rence dis-
closed the
conspiracy.

A providential occurrence at length obtruded a discovery on the lords-justices, at the time when the conspirators had finally agreed on their operations, and waited the hour of execution. Owen O'Connell, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, and educated in the profession of a Protestant, was considered by Hugh MacMahon, one of the conspira-

tors, as an agent likely to engage, and to prove useful, in their design; whether from supposition of his secret attachment to the religion of his ancestors, or that his family had been despoiled by the plantations. MacMahon summoned him to his house in the county Monaghan; but before his arrival he had removed to Dublin. Thither he was followed by O'Connolly; and their first interview was on the evening of the 22nd day of October, when the leaders had closed their secret consultation, by falling on their knees, and drinking to the success of their enterprize.

In the fulness of exultation and confidence, MacMahon disclosed the whole design to his new associate, and dwelt with particular triumph on the glorious action of tomorrow. He introduced him to Lord Macguire, and in his presence entered into a full detail of the intended enterprize. From Macguire he again conducted him to his own lodgings, again enlarged on the gallantry of the attempt, the effectual precautions already taken, and the fair prospect of success, peremptorily insisting on his concurrence. A design of so much danger, so suddenly disclosed, and so speedily to be executed, oppressed the imagination of O'Connolly. He attempted to convince MacMahon of his perilous situation; but was answered with tremendous denunciations of vengeance, if he should presume to betray the least particle of the secret. MacMahon insisted on detaining him to the very hour of the assault; O'Connolly found it necessary to pretend compliance; he affected to be converted into a determined conspirator; but pleading some casual necessity of retiring, and leaving his sword in MacMahon's chamber, as if he were instantly to return, he rushed out in consternation, and intoxicated as he was by a carousal with his friend, presented himself to Sir William Parsons.

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With evident marks of disorder and confusion, he informed the lord-justice of the desperate design to be immediately executed, of his author, and the principal associates. Parsons, prejudiced against his appearance, and the manner of his discovery, coldly recommended to him to return to MacMahon, and to inform himself more particularly of the intended treason. On his departure, the lord-justice was suddenly recalled to a sense of danger. He ordered the castle and city to be guarded; he sought his colleague, and informed him of the extraordinary incident. Borlase was more deeply affected, he condemned him for dismissing the discoverer; summoned the privy counsellors; despatched servants through the city in search of O'Connolly, who found him in the hands of the town-watch; for as he had sufficient recollection not to return to MacMahon, he was seized in the streets as a suspicious person. He was still disordered by his terror and excess; but being permitted to take repose, he gave his information clearly and particularly. MacMahon was first seized; Lord Macguire was detected in his concealment; Moore, Byrne, and the other leaders, received timely intimation of their danger, and escaped. MacMahon, after some hesitation, freely confessed the design in which he had engaged; boasted that the insurrection of that day was too mighty, and too general to be subdued, and expressed his satisfaction, that, although he had fallen into the power of his enemies, his death should be severely revenged.

Arrival of
Sir Francis
Willoughby.

Happily for the state of Ireland, Sir Francis Willoughby, governor of the fort of Galway, a privy counsellor, and a spirited and experienced soldier, arrived in Dublin on this important evening. Finding the gates shut against him, and an unusual agitation in the suburbs, and being

informed that the justices and council were now assembled at Chichester House on the green leading to the college, (for in this house Borlase now resided), he hastened thither, and learned the occasion of their unseasonable meeting. He comforted the council with an assurance, that through his whole journey from Galway, the country seemed in profound composure, nor had he discovered the least indication of hostility. He informed them, however, that an unusual number of strange horsemen had all night been pouring into the suburbs, and though denied admittance, still hovered round the city. He observed the insecurity of their present situation, and recommended to them to remove immediately to the castle. They obeyed. On entering the council-chamber, they appointed Willoughby to the custody both of the castle and the city; and drew up a proclamation, notifying the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy formed by some evil-affected Irish papists, recommending to all good subjects to provide for defence and to display their loyalty; and forbidding at the same time, any levies to be made for foreign service.

Such was the defenceless state of the castle of Dublin; and, although the conspirators had been prevented from surprising it, they might easily have taken it by force, had they not been dismayed by the sudden discovery of their design. The king's army, consisting of about two thousand foot, and nine hundred horse, was divided into small parties, stationed in distant garrisons. The castle, in which was deposited fifteen hundred barrels of powder, with a proportionate quantity of match and bullet, arms for ten thousand men, thirty-five pieces of artillery, with all their equipage, was defended by eight infirm warders and forty halberdiers, the usual guard of the chief governors on all occasions of parade.

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16—19.

Willoughby lost not a moment in securing a place of such consequence against any sudden attempt. The council-table was his only couch. He could not venture to let down his drawbridge, without the attendance of his whole insignificant guard, until the arrival of a part of his disbanded regiment from Carlisle, enabled him to arm two hundred men for the defence of the castle ; these were soon reinforced by those who fled for shelter to the capital, and by some detachments of the army recalled from their quarters by the lords-justices.

A few days allayed the confusion of the capital, and enabled the chief governors to take their measures, and issue their orders with more composure ; no intelligence of hostilities had been received, except from the northern counties, from which the most afflicting intelligence was hourly arriving, of the progress of the rebels. Their operations had been duly concerted, their designs concealed, and the confederates, faithful to their engagements, rose at the appointed time in different quarters. Sir Phelim O'Neal led the way ; on the evening of the 22nd of October, he surprised the castle of Charlemont, a place of consequence in those days. Lord Caulfield, a brave officer, grown old in the royal service, had been made governor of this fort. With the simplicity and love of ease natural to a veteran, he declined the honor of an earldom, when offered by King James, contenting himself with an hospitable residence on his estates, and living with his Irish neighbours in unsuspecting confidence. Sir Phelim having invited himself to sup with this Lord, he and his followers were received ; but on a signal given, they seized the whole family, made the garrison prisoners, and ransacked the castle.* From thence O'Neal flew to Dungannon, and

* Sir Phelim O'Neil, on his trial, explained the means by which

seized the fort, while some of his adherents possessed themselves of the town and castle of Mountjoy. Tandra-gee was surprised by the sept of O'Hanlon. Newry was betrayed to Sir Con Maginnis and his train; and though the governor, Sir Arthur Tyringham, escaped, yet several English gentlemen were made prisoners, and what was of still greater consequence to the insurgents, they possessed themselves of a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. Almost all Fermanagh yielded to the fury of Roger, brother of Lord Macguire; every place of strength in Monaghan was seized by the sept of MacMahon. Derry, Coleraine, Lisnegarvey, Lisburn, and Carrickfergus, were however maintained against the boisterous assaults of the rebels; whilst Enniskillen was secured by Sir William Cole.

CENTURY
16—19.

In the county of Cavan, both the representative in parliament, O'Reilly, and the sheriff his brother, were deeply engaged in the rebellion. They proceeded with unusual regularity. The sheriff summoned the popish inhabitants to arms; and they marching under his command with the appearance of discipline, forts, towns and castles, were surrendered to them. Bedell, bishop of Kilmore, was compelled to draw up their remonstrance of grievances, to be presented to the chief governors and council; in which they declared their apprehensions of persecution on account of religion, expressed their regret at being forced to seize the king's forts for his majesty's service, and professed their

Leland iii.
117.

his followers were deceived, (Lel. iii. 120.) He declared, that in ransacking the Castle of Charlemont, he found a patent of Lord Caulfield's, from which he took the great seal, and affixed it to a forged commission. At the hour of his execution, he persisted in a solemn disavowal of ever having received any commission from the King, for levying or prosecuting the war in Ireland.

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16—19.

readiness to make restitution for any outrages committed by their inferior followers.*

* Bedell was one of the most distinguished Prelates that ever adorned the Church in Ireland ; no man ever lived, who laboured more for the temporal and spiritual improvement of the Romish population, and no man was more successful in the work of conversion than he was. Many of the priests, and multitudes of the laity, became through his instrumentality obedient to the faith, and yet no man ever lived, who enjoyed the confidence and affection of that same people more than he did. ‘He was the only Englishman in all the county of Cavan, who was permitted to stay under his own roof. There was but little spare room in his castle ; and the poor stripped people, who had plenty of earthly accommodations but a little before, were now content to lodge in his out-buildings, the church, or the church-yard, on heaps of straw or hay ; and feed upon boiled wheat, or whatsoever the enemy had left, that could not so suddenly consume so great plenty, as was every where to be found. When Mrs. Moigne, his predecessor’s widow, a venerable matron, came hither in the habit of his poorest beggar, (where she had lived many years in great state before) and one Mr. Hudson, that was Rector of Belturbet, and his wife, stripped of all ; he could not look upon them with dry eyes, but brought them all the clothes he had in the world, save what was on his back, and gave it them.’

‘On the seventh of February, Bedell fell asleep in the Lord, and entered into his rest, and obtained his crown ; which in some sort, was a crown of martyrdom—for no doubt the sad weight of sorrow that lay upon his mind, and ill usage in his imprisonment, had much hastened his death ; and he suffered much more in his mind, by what he had lived to hear and see these last fifteen weeks of his life, than he could have done, if he had fallen by the sword, among the first of those that felt the rage of the Irish.’

The Irish did him unusual honors at his burial ; for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body to the church-yard of Kilmore, in great solemnity, and discharged a volley at his interment, and cried out in Latin, ‘Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum,’ ‘May the last of the English rest in peace.’ It is further recorded, that a Roman Catho-

In the county of Longford, the sept of O'Ferghal had been particularly injured by the plantations of James, and being now impatient to avenge their injuries, they seized every castle, house, and plantation of the British inhabitants. The rebels in Leitrim, another planted county, followed this example; so that within the space of eight days, they were absolute masters of the entire counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal, and Derry, (with the exception of the places already mentioned, and some inferior castles,) together with some parts of the counties of Armagh and Down.

Through the whole open country of these districts, the English inhabitants, who were all industrious and rich, found themselves suddenly involved in the most deplorable calamities. They scarcely believed the first reports of an insurrection; and the beginning of hostilities served rather to confound than to excite them to any reasonable measures of defence. Instead of flying to places of strength, or collecting in considerable bodies, each made some feeble efforts for defending his own habitation; and thus fell, single and unsupported, into the power of a ruthless enemy. The alarm of war, and hopes of plunder, quickly allured the Irish septs to the service of O'Neil, so that in one week he is said to have become the leader of thirty thousand men.

Parties of plunderers multiplied; by force or artifice they possessed themselves of the houses and properties of their English neighbours. Resistance produced some

lic Priest, Edmond Farrelly, exclaimed at his interment, 'O sit anima mea cum Bedello.' 'Oh, may my soul be with that of Bedell.'

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The progress
of the rebel-
lion.

bloodshed ; and in some instances private revenge, religious hatred, and the suspicion of some valuable concealment, enraged the triumphant rebels to insolence and murder. So far however was the original scheme of the conspiracy at first pursued, that few fell by the sword, except in open war and assault ; no indiscriminate massacre was as yet committed. The English were either confined in prisons, in perpetual terror of destruction ; or driven from their habitations, naked, and destitute, exposed to the rigor of a remarkably severe season, whilst some were found fainting and dying in the highways, or crawling to some place of refuge, in the ghastliness of fear and famine.

The leaders of the rebellion as yet confined their attack to the English settlements, and agreeably to their scheme, left the Scottish planters unmolested. The English were the great objects of their dislike, and every marauding party thundered out their detestation of England and English tyranny ; they vowed not to leave one Englishman in their country, and that they would have no king but one of their own nation.

The English in Ulster, having recovered from the first surprise, prepared to defend themselves ; wherever the English inhabitants were embodied, their success shewed the error of their former conduct. In Fermanagh, they forced the rebels to raise the siege of Enniskillen ; and Lord Macguire's own castle was taken by storm. In Tyrone, Sir Phelim O'Neal was obliged to abandon the siege of Castle Derrick ; in Donegal he was again defeated ; his forces were foiled in many other attempts, and their leaders returned to his camp at Newry. Undismayed by these defeats, he resolved to invest Carrickfergus. It being necessary however first to reduce Lisburn, he detached thither four thousand men. The town had already

sustained a violent assault, yet O'Neal was now confident of success ; but Sir Arthur Tyringham had reinforced the garrison, and at the very moment of danger, was assisted by Sir George Rawdon, a gallant officer ; the fierce and repeated efforts of the rebels were sustained and repelled with firmness and spirit : and this body of rebels, the first that bore the appearance of a regular army, was in the end routed with great loss.

A series of massacres and cruelties now commenced, which threw over this melancholy and eventful contest a gloom, from which war is in general freed by the customs usually observed among civilized nations. Roger Moore, and Sir Phelim O'Neal, (the most powerful of the old Irish,) now resolved upon a general massacre of all the Protestants in the kingdom. Their houses, cattle, and goods were first seized. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and that the most barbarous that ever was known or heard of in any nation, began its operations. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife, weeping for her murdered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was stabbed with them, and perished by the same undistinguishing stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent the like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin.*

According to some computations, the number of those

* It is a remarkable circumstance, that during this entire time of national suffering, the conspirators professed full allegiance to the King. 'The name of Charles was in their mouths, while they were subverting his laws and slaughtering his subjects ; and by a flexibility of conscience, which would be quite burlesque, if its consequence had not been so terrible, affected to consider respect for the King's person perfectly compatible with war against his crown !'

'The priesthood still led the way ; the Romish Archbishop of

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who perished is supposed to have been a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand. By the most moderate and probably the most reasonable account, they amounted to forty thousand. On this occasion the Romish bishops

Armagh first summoned his clergy to a synod, in which the war was declared to be lawful and pious, and orders were made against plunderers and murderers. A general synod of the Romish clergy, which formed an ecclesiastical constitution, followed, which was succeeded by a general assembly in the name of the nation, formed of Romish lords, prelates, priests, and deputies.'

'We find in this arrangement the same curious affectation of loyalty, with the same actual violation of all its principles. This national assembly disavowed the name of parliament, which they said nothing but the King's writ could convene; and without delay proceeded to form the house of temporal Peers and Prelates, and a house of representatives. These two houses instantly took upon themselves the whole authority of the state. In their habitual spirit of keeping the word of promise to the ear, and breaking it in reality, they commanded all persons to respect the royal authority, while in the same voice they denounced and repudiated it, in the only shape, which it could take before them—the King's Irish administration.'

'This national assembly also, took the whole administration of public justice into its own hands. It appointed a council for each county, who were to supersede the magistracy everywhere. From this council an appeal was to lie to a provincial council, who were to decide all suits, like judges of assize. From these again, there lay an appeal to a body of twenty-four persons, bearing the expressive name of the *supreme council* of the confederate Catholics of Ireland! This council was to have the command of the army, to decide on all causes, criminal and civil, to pronounce on peace and war, and in fact, to possess the whole power of government—a complete monopoly of the entire authority of the nation. They then proceeded to appoint generals for each province, and to assume the special prerogative of sovereignty in raising the value of the coin. They next sent ambassadors to the Romish courts to demand succours; and having performed those realities of rebellion, they

and clergy of the province of Armagh, being summoned to a synod at Kells, by Hugh O'Neal, the titular primate, on March 22nd, 1642, declared the war, so they styled the rebellion, to be 'just and lawful,' which was afterwards ratified in a general synod of their clergy held at Kilkenny on the 10th of May in the same year.*

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A.D. 1642.

This awful calamity was followed by ten years of the

finished in their usual style, by the farce of sending two petitions to the King and Queen, pronouncing their unshaken loyalty, and praying for relief from their grievances.'

The *Loyal* Repeal Association of our day, appears in this respect, to be following the steps of their predecessors.

* Sir John Temple reckons the number of Protestants murdered or destroyed in some manner from the breaking out of the rebellion in October 1641, to its cessation in September 1643, at three hundred thousand; Clarendon says, forty or fifty thousand were murdered in the *first* insurrection. Sir William Petty puts the number massacred at thirty-seven thousand. It is to be remarked however, that no distinct accounts could be preserved in formal depositions, of so promiscuous a slaughter, and that the very exaggeration shows its tremendous nature.

'Doctor Lingard has lately given a short account of the Ulster rebellion, (History of England, x. 154.), and in the true jesuitical casuistry of Rome, omits *all mention of the massacre*, and endeavours in a note at the end of the volume, to disprove, by mere scraps of quotation, an event of such notoriety, that we must abandon all faith in public fame, if it were really unfounded.'—(Hallam.)

Mr. O'Connell, in his Memoir of Ireland, after alluding to the calamities that followed the massacre in 1641, among many others mentions one, which I never heard of before, and as he does not in any one instance in his book of seventy-eight pages, refer to his authorities for his statements, I shall probably never hear of it again: that "when the war had ceased, Cromwell collected, as the first fruits of peace, eighty thousand Irish in the southern part of Ireland, to transplant them to the West India Islands; as many as survived the process of collection, were embarked in transports for these Islands;

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16—19.

Awful retri-
bution of
Cromwell
and Ireton.

A.D. 1652.

most wasting, and heart-breaking hostilities, and which were finished by the terrible executions inflicted on an unhappy people by the sword of Cromwell. The embarrassments of England caused by her own republican war, had prevented her from throwing her irresistible force into Ireland; but the pressure of English civil war once removed, the very first army which she sent against the Irish insurgents crushed the rebellion at a blow. Cromwell's progress was rapid, fierce, and murderous. It was more like that of the executioner than the soldier. Garrisons put to the sword, armies trampled in slaughter, districts laid waste, terror before him, and havoc behind, rendered his brief campaign one of the most extraordinary and fearful in the history of warfare. In 1652 he left his last vengeance to Ireton, who gleaned the remnants of conspiracy, and sent its last leaders to the scaffold.

of the eighty thousand, in six years, the survivors did not amount to twenty individuals,!!! eighty thousand Irish at one blow deliberately sacrificed by a slow, but steady cruelty to the Moloch of English domination,!!! eighty thousand, Oh God of mercy,' (page 29, 30.) Prodigious!! where in the name of common sense, did Cromwell get the transports? and above all, where did he get the victims? as Mr. O'Connell himself assures us, 'that the fairest part of Ireland, and in particular the province of Munster, was literally depopulated,' (page 18.) Yet continues, Mr. O'Connell, 'all these barbarities ought to be light and trivial, compared to the crowning cruelty of the enemies of Ireland. The Irish were refused civil justice,' and then alluding to the massacre of the Protestants in 1641, he indignantly exclaims, 'they were still more atrociously refused HISTORICAL JUSTICE, and accused of being the authors and perpetrators of assassinations and massacres, of which they were only the victims,'!!! (page 30), after this 'crowning cruelty,' 'the refusal of HISTORICAL JUSTICE,' we may truly conclude in the language of Mr. O'Connell, 'that no people on the face of the earth, were ever treated with such cruelty as the Irish,' (page 30.)

The wars of Cromwell will in a manner prepare us for the sad description given by Carte of the Irish Church at this period. 'It was in a deplorable condition, the cathedrals in many places destroyed, the parish churches nearly ruined, unroofed, and unrepaired; the houses of the clergy left desolate, and their possessions alienated, during the wars and confusions of former times. Most of the tythes had been appropriated, or sold to private persons, and made lay-fees. In some dioceses, there was scarce a living left, that was not farmed out to a patron, at two, three or four pounds a year for a long time, three lives, or one hundred years. The vicarages were for the most part stipendiary, and their stipends so miserably sordid, that in the whole province of Connaught, there was scarce a vicar's pension which exceeded forty shillings, and in many places they were but sixteen shillings. The bishopricks themselves, though many in number, yet but of small revenue, having the greatest part of them depauperated in the change of religion, by absolute grants and long leases, some of them not able to maintain a bishop. Several were by these means reduced to fifty pounds a year, as Waterford, Kilfenora, and others; and some to five marks, as Cloyne and Kilmacduagh, and as scandalous livings naturally make scandalous ministers, the clergy of the Established Church were generally ignorant and unlearned, loose and irregular in their lives and conversations, negligent of their cures, and very careless of observing uniformity and decency in divine worship, in a country where they were endangered on the one hand by an infinite number of obstinate recusants, and on the other hand, by a shoal of factious and irregular puritans, brought out of Scotland, who offered daily insults to the established

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Church government, and treated the rites of administering the sacraments with insufferable contempt.’

Confirmatory of this statement from Carte, we subjoin the address of convocation of the clergy at the same period. ‘To our dread sovereign, Charles, the humble petition of his Highness’s most loyal and devoted subjects, the Archbishops, Bishops, and the whole clergy of Ireland, assembled in convocation, by his special command, sheweth unto your sacred majesty, that in the whole Christian world, the rural clergy have not been reduced into such extremity of contempt and beggary, as in this your Highness’s kingdom, by the means of so frequent appropriations, commendations, and violent intrusions into their undoubted rights; in times of confusion, having their churches ruined, their inhabitants left desolate, their tythes detained, their glebes concealed, and by inevitable consequence an invincible necessity of a general non-residency imposed upon them, whereby the ordinary subject hath been left wholly destitute of all possible means to learn true piety to God, loyalty to their prince, and civility one towards another, and whereby former wars and insurrections have been occasionally both procreated and maintained. Whereas, by settling a rural clergy, endowed with competency to serve God at his altar, besides the general protection of the Almighty which it will most surely bring upon your majesty and this kingdom, barbarism and superstition will be expelled; the subject shall learn his duty to God and to his sovereign, and true religion be propagated,’ &c.

In Wentworth’s state letters, we find the following statement in a letter to Laud. He says, ‘The reducing this kingdom to a conformity in religion with the Church of England, is no doubt deeply set in his majesty’s heart,

as well from perfect zeal to God's service, as out of other weighty reasons of state and government ; but to attempt it, before the decays of the material churches be repaired, and an able clergy be provided, were as a man going to warfare without munition or arms. The best entrance to the cure will be clearly to discover the state of the patient, which I find many ways distempered. *An unlearned clergy*, which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen ; *the Churches unbuilt*, the parsonage and vicarage-houses utterly ruined ; the people untaught, through the nonresidency of the clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful number of spiritual promotions with cure of souls ; the rites and ceremonies of the Church run over without all decency of habit, order, or gravity ; the possessions of the Church, *to a great proportion*, in lay hands : the bishops aliening their very principal houses and demesnes to their children, and to strangers ; the schools either ill-provided, ill-governed, or what is worse, '*applied underhand to the maintenance of popish schoolmasters,*' &c. 'Here are divers of the clergy, whose wives and children are recusants, and there the Church goes most lamentably to wreck, and hath suffered extremely under the wicked alienations of this sort of pastors.'

'Commissions for repairs of churches,' he further says, 'are issued over the whole kingdom, and all the life shall be given to it that possibly can ; and yet it may be, some hot-headed prelate may think there is no good intent to religion ; but I must answer, that his brain-sick zeal would work a goodly reformation surely, to force a conformity to a religion, whereas yet there is hardly to be found a church to receive an able minister to teach the people. I appeal

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to any equal-minded man, whether they or I be more in the right.'

l. i. p. 299.

Wentworth again writes to Laud, 'Just at this present, I am informed that my Lord Clanrickard hath engrossed as many parsonages and vicarages, as he hath mortgaged for four thousand pounds and eighty pounds rent; but in faith have at him, and all the rest of the ravens. I spare no man among them, let no man spare me. Howbeit I foresee this is so universal a disease, that I shall incur a number of men's displeasure of the best rank among them.' And in another letter he says, 'It is no longer since than this term, a poor vicar was restored to an impropriation and two vicarages, usurped these thirty years and better by the Earl of Cork; and considering the usurpations upon the Church have been a contagion, so universally spread throughout this kingdom, as hardly can a jury be got, but where a great (if not the greatest) number would feel themselves interested in the question; *such a desolation have these wars brought upon God's portion.*'

That Wentworth and Laud were influenced in these their opinions and measures, by a sincere regard for the Church, and not by any special respect either for the persons, or immediate interests of churchmen, will clearly appear, by the following extracts from their letters. Laud, in reply to several communications from Wentworth, descriptive of the plunder practised on the Church, observes, 'Nor can I answer what became of the primate, and the rest of the bishops, while the poor inferior clergy were thus oppressed, more than this, that I ever thought, it was not in their power to help it; but if it shall appear to you otherwise, and if any of them be as bad for the oppression of the Church as any layman, great pity it is, but some one or other of the chief offenders should be made a

public example, and turned out of his bishopric ; such a course once held would do more good in Ireland, than any thing that hath been done there this forty years.’

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Vol. i. p. 156.

On the other hand, we find Wentworth thus expressing himself, ‘ Nothing new here, except that I have in the case of the bishop of Killalla, adjudged and given him possession of as much land, usurped from the see, as is worth at least one hundred pound per annum.’

‘ I have sent for the Archbishop of Cashel, but his grace returns, he is ill of the sciatica, and not able to travel ;—likes not, I believe, to come to a reckoning, but I have writ his answer. In good faith, my lord, his grace has beguiled me, and keeps his sixteen vicarages still, but I will roundly prepare for him a purge, so soon as I see him.’*

* It may be necessary here to remark that most of these descriptions of the state of the church, were written before the rebellion and massacre of 1641,—what then must have been its state after that sad event ?

CHAPTER XVII.

THE RESTORATION.*

CHARLES THE SECOND.—FROM 1660—1685.

CHARLES' CONSPIRACY WITH THE KING OF FRANCE TO SUBVERT THE RELIGION AND LIBERTY OF ENGLAND—THE EARL BERKELEY SENT OVER TO IRELAND FOR THIS PURPOSE—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES INSTANTLY JOIN THE COALITION—THE ROMANISTS DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTIES—THE REMONSTRANTS AND THE ANTI-REMONSTRANTS—THE REMONSTRANTS EXCOMMUNICATED FOR PRESUMING TO MAINTAIN THE ODIIOUS DOCTRINE OF ALLEGIANCE—THE OUTWORKS OF THE CHURCH ENDANGERED—THE CORPORATIONS ATTEMPTED TO BE THROWN OPEN—THE GRADUAL CHANGE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY—A COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY, TO EFFECT A CHANGE OF PROPERTY—THE ALARM OF THE PROTESTANT PARTY IN ENGLAND PUTS A STOP TO THESE PROCEEDINGS.

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THE secret leaning of Charles the Second to the Romish Church, and his conspiracy with the King of France to subvert the religion and liberty of the country, are now

* 'We are arrived,' says Mr. O'Connell in his Memoir, 'at the restoration. An event of the utmost utility to the English and Scotch royalists, who were justly restored to their properties; an event which consigned irrevocably, and for ever to British plunderers, and especially to the soldiers of Ireton and Cromwell, the properties of the Irish Catholic people, whose fathers had con-

fully known. His brother the duke of York, was a less disguised adherent, and the head of the Roman Catholic party in England. The secret of his religion was but formal. The court party, for the most part indifferent to any form of religion, were favourable to a system, which essentially served to promote the re-establishment of arbitrary power. The cause of Rome in those days, was the cause of prerogative; but there was in England a popular spirit, not to be braved, by the most cautious manifesta-

tended against the usurped powers, to the last of their blood, and their breath.'—(p. 31.)

You are quite too confident, Mr. O'Connell, in your assertion, that this property, 'was irrevocably and for ever consigned to British plunderers.' Why these very men, or their descendants, were in the first parliament, held by James II. in Dublin, 1690, deprived of this very property. The act of settlement was repealed, and above two thousand four hundred persons attainted by name. And why, at the first meeting of the repeal parliament in Dublin, should the same process be considered impossible?—we have also a precedent for this in the conduct of a Protestant House of Commons in former days, when by one resolution, they deprived the clergy of Ireland of more than three-fourths of their property, and that without the intervention of the House of Lords.

Again, Mr. O'Connell states that 'the Duke of York, afterwards James the second, took his own share of the plunder, about eighty thousand acres of land belonging to Irish Catholics, whose cause of forfeiture was nothing more, than that they had been friends and supporters of his murdered father, and the enemies of his enemies.'—(p. 32.)

Oh, fie Mr. O'Connell, I'm quite ashamed of you, that you should circulate such a vile calumny against a magnanimous Catholic Prince, who in the language of the Archbishop of Rheims, '*viola un bon homme, qui a quette trois royaumes pour une masse,*' 'behold a good man, who has given up three kingdoms for one mass!' and to degrade him to a level, 'with British plunderers, and especially with the soldiers of Ireton and Cromwell.'

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16—19.

Earl Berkeley
sent over to
Ireland.

The Roman
Catholics join
the coalition.

The
Romanists
divided into
two parties.

tion of these dispositions, and Ireland was of course, the appropriate stage for the first experiments of the court.

With this view, Berkeley was sent over with instructions to give every sanction and encouragement to a party, which has seldom been slow to seize a fair occasion. The Roman Catholic prelates at once flung aside caution and concealment. They silenced an effort made by the more moderate of the clergy, to disclaim the doctrine of the pope's power over the civil government of nations. They celebrated their ordinances with ostentatious solemnity; and it is related, that Talbot, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, applied for, and obtained a loan of the plate of Dublin Castle, for the celebration of the mass. This request was granted, with a courteous message from secretary Leighton, that he hoped the mass might, ere long, be celebrated in the cathedral of Christ's Church.

The Romanists at this time were divided into two parties, on a point of considerable moment to a Protestant monarch. For nearly a century, the measure of obedience due by the Romanists to the civil power, was a question frequently discussed, and one which had given rise to great violence during the late commotions. On the restoration of Charles the Second, some of the Irish Roman prelates and clergy, commissioned Peter Walsh,* a Franciscan

* Bishop Burnet gives the following character of Peter Walsh :
' He was, the honestest and learnedest man I ever knew among them, and was indeed in all points of controversy almost wholly a Protestant. But he had senses of his own, by which, he excused his adhering to the Church of Rome, and maintained, that with these he could continue in the communion of that church without sin ; and he thought no man ought to forsake that religion, in which he was born and bred, unless he was clearly convinced, that he must certainly be damned, if he continued in it : he was an honest and

friar, to present to the king a congratulatory address on the occasion ; praying for the benefits of the peace made with Ormond, in 1648. Walsh thinking it right to obviate the objection against the toleration of the Romish religion by a Protestant government, drew up what was called the remonstrance of the Romish clergy of Ireland.

In this, they acknowledge that the king was supreme lord, and rightful sovereign of Ireland. That they were bound to obey him in all civil and temporal affairs, and to pay him faithful loyalty and allegiance, notwithstanding any sentence or declaration of the Pope or See of Rome ; —they disclaimed the power of any foreign authority, to free them from the declaration,—and declared their resolution to detest and oppose all conspiracies and traitorous attempts against the king.

The remonstrants and the anti-remonstrants.

This remonstrance was presented to Ormond, who objected, that it was not signed by the clergy, but offered on the authority of Walsh alone. One Roman Catholic bishop, and twenty of the clergy, immediately signed it ; a few declined subscribing to it ; circular letters were then addressed to the Roman Catholic prelates, inviting them to concur in an address, which was soon signed by an additional number of the clergy, and several lay lords and gentlemen.

This remonstrance was censured by Cardinal Barberini, and the internuncio of Brussels, who was charged by the pope with the care of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland. A party was soon formed against it ; counter-addresses were proposed and rejected ; some expressed a wish that the subject should be debated in a national synod. A declaration of fidelity to the king from such a body, at a man, much practised in intrigues, and knew well the methods of the Jesuits and other missionaries.'

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16—19.

time when he was at open war with France, and had reason to suspect the practices of the discontented at home, was very desirable. Ormond therefore gave permission for the assembling of the clergy ; after some opposition the synod was held on the eleventh of June 1666, but the assembly broke up without coming to any decision ; the members divided into two parties, those who supported the remonstrance, and those who opposed it.

On the arrival of Lord Berkeley, provincial councils and diocesan synods were convened—in these the Pope, who named the bishops, and commanded the preferments of regulars, had a superiority ; the remonstrants were every where deprived, and Walsh and his associates were excommunicated. The anti-remonstrants had lately received a powerful addition to their party in the person of Peter Talbot, who was nominated by the Pope to the Archbishopric of Dublin, and who had through the patronage of Buckingham acquired great favour at the English court.

The remonstrants excommunicated.

The whole body of the Romish clergy was now on the point of uniting in the doctrine of the Pope's unlimited authority. The remonstrants, who opposed this doctrine, requested permission to lay their case before the Lord Lieutenant ; but he refused them an audience. Margetson the primate pleaded for them, but in vain. The intercession of the Duke of Ormond in favour of the remonstrants, was complained of by Berkeley as officious, who openly declared that he would consider any new orders from the council of England, as the dictates of the Duke, and pass them by unnoticed. Peter Talbot, and his colleagues, proceeded securely in the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction, and in their severities against those who presumed to maintain *the odious doctrine of allegiance*.

Berkeley went on resolutely, but insidiously, to pull

down the outworks of the Church of Ireland, or to fill them with persons hostile to its interests; the magistracy was transferred; the corporations were attempted to be thrown open; a common council of the popular party at once placed the city at the mercy of its enemies; one step only remained, the silent and gradual change of the composition of the army, to complete the triumph of the court, over the country and the constitution. Whilst a commission of enquiry was issued, the ostensible object of which was '*justice for Ireland*,' but the real design was to effect a similar change with respect to property.* The alarm,

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The out-works of the Church endangered.

The corporations attempted to be thrown open.

Change of the composition of the army.

A Commission of enquiry.

* What a striking similarity do we find in the mode adopted in our day, to that pursued in the worst days of Charles the Second, for removing the principal obstructions to the separation of the two countries. The agitators found in Ireland as high-spirited, and undaunted a set of men, as ever lived, in the middling and lower orders of the Protestant population. These men were not to be cajoled, but saw through the plausible curtain, which concealed from view the real designs of the Romish party. These excellent men were of course denounced, as the chief cause of Ireland's distracted state.

The English Government gave a willing ear to these calumnies. Orangemen, (as all conscientious Protestants are now called), were discountenanced in every possible way, and a bill was brought into parliament, and passed into a law to prevent their commemoration of the glorious victory of the Boyne, where (as Dalrymple says), 'the constitution of England was won;' whilst the Romanists were left at perfect liberty, to commemorate what events they pleased. This act is, in fact, a penal law against the Protestants, and against them only.

The renewal of this act, even for a short period, is an insult, which, as the party affected by it did not deserve, they will, we hope, be the better able to tolerate and forgive. It does not tell well (as the Earl of Wicklow observed in his place in parliament) 'for the impartiality of ministers, if coercing a Protestant party, (whose loyalty has never been impeached), they leave a Roman Catholic party, (whose disaffection is as notorious as it is trouble-

CENTURY
16—19.

The alarm of
the Protestant party in
England

however, of the Protestant^a party, both in England and Ireland, soon rendered it necessary to desist from the projected innovations. The commission of enquiry was

some), quite at liberty to act as they please on those subjects, from which the former are prohibited.' The destinies of England, notwithstanding, hang, humanly speaking, on the nod of these ill-treated men.

The following letter from the curate of a neighbouring parish speaks for itself, and proclaims to the world the kind of stuff the Protestants of Ireland are made of,—

' St. Johnstown, Edgeworthstown,

' 12th September, 1844.

' DEAR SIR,

' I presume you have seen in the public Journals, the account of a daring burglary, committed for fire-arms, in the noon-day of the 26th of July, at the house of a Protestant Yeoman, by name Archy Gerrard, of the Parish of Clonbrony, County of Longford, and of the gallant and chivalrous pursuit of the robbers, with the capture of two of them, and the recovery of all the arms.

' The following is a brief statement of the case :—

' Archy Gerrard has been for a long time well known and esteemed by all parties for his straightforward character and unflinching loyalty ; so much so, that during all the disturbance that from time to time has been rife in the County of Longford, his house has been one of the few that never was attempted for arms ; it being well known that he would defend them resolutely.

' On the day in question he had been in the fair of Bunlahy ; his youngest son, John, who is Clerk and Schoolmaster of this Parish, was at his school, and his son Thomas was in the bog. About two o'clock in the day, four robbers proceeded to the house, two of them went in under pretence of smoking, and getting a drink ; Mrs. Gerrard, an old woman, went out for a minute to look after the cows, and on her return saw one of the party coming down stairs with the four guns under his arm.

' Just at this moment the youngest son (a lad about nineteen,)

superseded, and the king declared his resolution to maintain the acts of settlement. Lord Berkeley was removed from the government, the obnoxious proceedings in the

was near the gate, returning home, when he heard his mother shrieking, and perceived the four men with the guns; he instantly gave chase, and although they turned round on him, repeatedly threatening to run him through, and snapping the guns at him, he still held on, and was soon joined by his two brothers, one of whom was coming from the bog, and the other had been working at a saw-pit near, and hearing the shouting, came to their aid.—They ran them down in about half a mile, when the three unarmed young men closed with the robbers, armed with four guns, (one of which was loaded,) and two bayonets, and after a short and desperate struggle, in which they received some severe blows, and the eldest of them, James, three bayonet wounds in the arm, they succeeded in retaking their four guns, and one bayonet, and not only that, but in making prisoners two of the robbers, and bringing them before Mr. HOWLEY, the Stipendiary Magistrate, by whom they were committed to Longford gaol, to stand their trial at the next Assizes.

‘The heroic bravery of these young men, which under God’s blessing issued in such a happy result, falls short of their after conduct, exhibiting as it does the true spirit of Bible Christianity, “not rendering evil for evil,” nor trampling over a fallen foe. Not only did they from the moment their prisoners surrendered themselves, treat them gently and humanely, but on the way to the Magistrate, when they stopped at their own house to get a drink, they brought out milk, and made their prisoners drink, before they drank themselves.

‘Their servant girl, and a neighbouring lad, who was working with them in the bog, behaved also most nobly, joining in the pursuit, and lending all the aid they could; they are both Protestants.

‘Another fact, which still further enhances the moral courage of this action, is, that their neighbours, though called on to help, offered no assistance; on the contrary, (keeping clear of an overt act,) did as much as they could to impede and hinder: so much so,

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corporation of Dublin were reversed, and the ejected Protestants restored to their places. The public countenance so inconsiderately shewn to the popish interest was

that while the Gerrards were contending with the robbers, one of their guns, which had fallen to the ground, was hid in a bush, with the intent of stealing.

‘Such chivalrous and manly conduct reflects a credit on our county, and is the best and most effective check to such lawless proceedings. Animated with this feeling, and encouraged by some of the resident gentry, I have thought it well that there should be some mark, in the way of reward, presented to the Gerrards, by the gentry of the County Longford, to show how much they admire their conduct, and sympathise with their high-minded bravery. Some of the gentry have already promised their donations, to which I most willingly add my own.

‘Will you be so kind as to let me know, at your earliest convenience, if I may add your name to the list of subscribers, and the amount of your donation ; I conceive the best mode of proceeding will then be to appoint three or four of the neighbouring gentry as a Committee, to regulate the disposal of the money which may be collected.

‘The Government were pleased to grant a Reward of Twenty-four pounds among the Gerrards, and Six pounds between the boy and the girl, but this appears to fall so far short of their deservings, that a further and a county recognition of approval seems to be called for.

‘I have the honour to remain,

‘Dear Sir, your obedient servant,

‘T. O. MOORE.

‘Curate of Clonbroney.’

To the Dean of Ardagh.

But the agitators found the landed proprietors, who were Protestants in the proportion of ten to one, ardently attached to England, and inflexibly determined to put down agitation. These men were therefore proclaimed as tyrants, oppressors, murderers, unfit as magistrates to distribute justice, whose partial, unfeeling and avaricious

for a time withdrawn; and the administration of Berkeley's successor, Lord Essex, passed in the usual course of Irish government, without exhibiting any extraordinary or important incidents.

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conduct, had brought the peasantry to ruin and despair. These accusations have succeeded but too well in England. The consequence is, that landlords and magistrates have lost their legitimate influence in the country, have become victims to their own noble and confiding nature, and to the artful machinations of their implacable enemies. A commission of enquiry (a preparatory step to all changes of late years) as in the days of Charles the second, has been appointed to consider the relative situation of landlord and tenant, and sacrifices will, I suppose, be required in the vain hope of satisfying those, whom nothing short of separation will ever satisfy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JAMES II.—FROM 1685—1688.

THE EXTRAVAGANT JOY OF THE ROMISH PARTY—THE DUKE OF ORMOND RECALLED—THE PROTESTANT MILITIA DISARMED—CLARENDON, THE NEW LORD LIEUTENANT COMMANDED TO DECLARE THAT HIS MAJESTY HAD NO INTENTION OF ALTERING THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT—THE IRISH TORIES ATTACK THE DEFENCELESS PROTESTANTS—THE ROMANISTS PETITION THE KING FOR RELIEF OF THE SUFFERERS BY THE ACTS OF SETTLEMENT—TYRCONNEL REPAIRS TO LONDON—THE POWER OF TYRCONNEL IRRESISTIBLE WITH THE KING—THE SEALS TAKEN FROM PRIMATE BOYLE, AND CONFERRED ON SIR CHARLES PORTER—THREE PROTESTANT JUDGES REMOVED, AND THEIR PLACES FILLED BY ROMANISTS—LORD CLARENDON REMONSTRATES INEFFECTUALLY—TYRCONNEL ARRIVES IN IRELAND AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF—CLARENDON REMOVED—TYRCONNEL APPOINTED LORD DEPUTY—ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED PROTESTANT FAMILIES OF DUBLIN, LEAVE THE KINGDOM WITH CLARENDON—THE ARMY OF IRELAND ROMANIZED—THE PROTESTANT CORPORATIONS DISSOLVED—THE COLLEGE OF DUBLIN BROKEN UP, THE APARTMENTS TURNED INTO PRISONS—THE ENGLISH INTEREST NEARLY EXTINGUISHED—THE ENTERPRISE OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE—THE GARRISON OF DERRY WITHDRAWN—THE SHUTTING OF THE GATES OF DERRY—THE PROTESTANTS DRIVEN UNDER THE WALLS—DERRY RELIEVED—THE GALLANT ENNISKILLIERS—WILLIAM AND MARY PROCLAIMED IN THE NORTHERN TOWNS—THE DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE CHURCH.

establishing the popish religion in Ireland, where they deemed the experiment less hazardous than in England, and where it was tried in consequence of their private agreement with France. Terrified by the spirited remonstrances of an English parliament, they for a while suspended their attempts, but renewed them when the royal authority seemed above controul; Charles, from a careless desire to accept of any measures, which might promise to confirm the ascendancy he had acquired; James, from a bigotted and passionate affection for popery: the latter when his schemes and power were apparently on the point of ruin, suddenly found himself invested with sovereignty. He ascended the throne amidst the acclamations of a triumphant faction, which he mistook for the universal joy of all his subjects. His religion had not been concealed; it was now openly and formally avowed.

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Extravagant
joy of the
Romish
party.

Such a Prince unexpectedly seated in such triumph on the throne of England, naturally inspired the Romish subjects of Ireland with the most extravagant expectations. They already saw the victory of their religion over all its adversaries; they fancied themselves restored to the possessions of their fathers; and roused from that depression they had long endured, they enjoyed the flattering prospect of redress, of power, of consequence, and royal favor,—in short, of every advantage to be derived, from a King of their own religion.

The Duke of Ormond, whom the violent and bigotted of their party considered as a mortal enemy, was removed from his government, as Lord Lieutenant, with evident impatience of his continuing in power, even for the shortest time. He was directed to resign the sword immediately to two lords justices. The age and infirmities of the

The Duke of
Ormond.

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Duke were assigned as the cause of his removal; and in public, Ormond affected to believe this to be true. During his administration a stately hospital had been erected near Dublin for the reception of old soldiers; hither he invited the military officers to an entertainment, and at the conclusion, holding his glass filled to the brim, he thus addressed himself to the company, ‘See, Gentlemen:—They say at court I am old and doating,—but my hand is steady, nor doth my heart fail; and I hope to convince some of them of their mistake. This to the King’s health.’

The Protestant militia
disarmed.

James, in his first letter to the Lords justices, said, it was judged necessary to recal the arms of the militia, and to deposit them in the King’s stores. This militia was entirely composed of Protestants; the order for resigning their arms was received with consternation by men who had an habitual horror of the Romish Irish, and who now expected to be exposed defenceless to their fury. This consternation was increased by the intemperance of the Romanists, who exulted over their rivals, and threatened them with the vengeance of government, should they betray their rebellious purposes, by retaining any arms, even those of their own property. The Lords-justices were not without their fears, that the proclamation for disarming them might be attended with some commotion. Primate Boyle was employed to communicate with the citizens of Dublin, and laboured to dissipate their terror. He exhorted them to display their loyalty, by cheerfully depositing their arms in the King’s stores, where they would be well preserved, and lie at hand ready to be resumed on any danger. The citizens resigned their arms with a better grace, by pretending to yield to the force of his arguments. Their example influenced other quarters of

the kingdom, and in all places the orders of government were obeyed without apparent reluctance.*

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The disarming so considerable a body of Protestants, was but the beginning of that great work which James now meditated, and which to the utter dissatisfaction of the impatient Irish, was to be disclosed gradually, and with some degree of caution. A new chief governor was now destined for Ireland, who might act with greater authority, and a more cordial compliance with the King's wishes, than could be expected from the present lords justices.

The King's near affinity to Clarendon, and the exalted principles of loyalty and submission which this Lord professed, and which was indeed the fashionable language of courtiers, persuaded James, that he would not be averse to promoting his designs, nor were these entirely concealed from him. In his public instructions, the King intimated a desire of introducing Catholics into corporations, and investing them with magistracies and judicial offices. At the same time, some condescension was to be shown to the terrors and suspicions of the Protestant party. The new Lord Lieutenant was commanded to declare that his Majesty had no intention of altering the acts of settlement. Thus, by ascertaining the bounds which he was not to pass, James reserved the liberty, (and almost intimated his purpose,) of indulging the Irish Romanists in every other particular.

Clarendon,
the new Lord
Lieutenant.

Lord Clarendon, in his speech to the privy council on receiving the sword of state, expressed his satisfaction at assuming the administration at a time of perfect peace and

* The first act of the conciliation-system in our day was the disarming of our Protestant yeomanry, a force exactly similar to the militia of the days of James the Second.

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16—19.

The Irish
tories attack
the defence-
less protes-
tants.

quietness. But in this he was insincere, or greatly deceived; for at this juncture, Ireland was in considerable ferment. No sooner had the Protestant Militia been disarmed, than those savage banditti, called *tories*,* issued in vast numbers from their private haunts, to the extreme terror and annoyance of the civilized and industrious. The Protestants were defenceless against their ravages; whilst the Romanists would not oppose their friends and kinsmen.

This grievance was so manifest and urgent, that Clarendon was empowered to restore some arms to those who were fit to be entrusted, and most exposed to depredations; but he was too cautious to exercise this power with the necessary speed and alacrity. In the mean time the Protestant subjects not only became a prey to robbers, but were exposed to the malice of another set of enemies still more formidable. A number of informers suddenly started up in various quarters, and laboured to involve their neighbours in the guilt of treason. They tortured their inventions for plausible fictions, or ransacked their memories for the casual conversations of several years past, in order to accuse the Protestant inhabitants of words spoken against the King when Duke of York. The Protestant who exacted rent from his tenant; he who repelled the violence of a tory; he who had at any time given any offence to his neighbour, was suddenly accused, sometimes imprisoned, exposed to a litigious prosecution, or harassed with continual apprehensions from revenge and perjury. Informations multiplied in every part of Ireland, and were daily brought before the Lord Lieutenant. He

* I am afraid the Irish protestants in our days, are not likely to receive better treatment from the *English* tories, than they did in former days from the Irish.

saw clearly through their falsehood and malice, yet could not venture openly to discourage them, as the King retained an unprincely resentment of offences committed against him, before his accession, and also felt particular jealousy of his Protestant subjects in Ireland.

The Irish Romanists were no strangers to this prepossession of the King, nor were their leaders inattentive to take advantage of it. Though they could not as yet attempt to subvert the act of settlement, they prepared a petition for the relief of those who had suffered by these acts; an application not in itself entirely unreasonable, but justly offensive in the manner of it; for it was agreed to choose agents from the several counties, who, without any intervention of the Lord Lieutenant, were to repair to England, and address themselves directly to the throne.

The more moderate of their party refused to concur in a proceeding, disrespectful to the governor who had acted with lenity, and even with some degree of indulgence to the Irish Romanists. Their next petition therefore, was conveyed to him; and in this they had the hardiness to desire, a general reversal of the outlawries occasioned by the rebellion, of the year sixteen hundred and forty one. This as Lord Clarendon expresses it, 'would greatly alarm the English, and perhaps startle some of the Irish too, who had gotten new estates.' And however the case of some particulars might have merited attention and favor, yet the petition, if granted in its full extent, must have been considered as the previous step to an utter subversion of all establishments of property. But the Irish knew no moderation in their demands. Their gentry crowded round Whitehall, and were graciously received. Thither Tyrconnel had repaired, on the arrival of Lord Clarendon

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16—19.

The
Romanists
petition the
King for re-
lief of the
sufferers.

Tyrconnel
repairs to
London.

CENTURY
16—19.

The power
of Tyrconnel
irresistible.

The seals
taken from
Primate
Boyle.

Three Pro-
testant
Judges re-
moved.

Lord Claren-
don remon-
strates in-
effectually.

in Ireland, and made such representations of Irish affairs, as suited the interests of his party, or gratified the violence of his passions, and was heard with perfect confidence by his deluded master.

It soon appeared that the power of this Lord was irresistible, and that the most violent and offensive measures were most agreeable to the cabinet. The seals of Ireland were suddenly taken from Primate Boyle, and a new chancellor was sent from England,—Sir Charles Porter, a man whose distressed circumstances, promised to render him implicitly submissive to the court. Three Protestant judges, without any reason assigned, or any objection alleged against their conduct, were at once removed; in their places, two Romish lawyers of Irish birth, Nugent and Daly, and one Ingolsby, an Englishman, were raised to the bench; and when Ingolsby declined this preferment, Rice, another Irish lawyer, not of unexceptionable character, was chosen to supply his place.

In vain did Lord Clarendon represent, that the admission of Roman Catholics into offices of trust and honour, without taking the oath of supremacy, was contrary to law. To James such language was impertinent and uncourtly. All these new Romish judges and some Romish lawyers, were admitted into the privy council of Ireland, an honour not hitherto conferred on men of their rank. Rice was ashamed of such advancement and hesitated; Nagle, an active and skilful lawyer of the Romish party, and greatly favored by Tyrconnel, declined to accept an honour which would interfere with the business and solid advantages of his profession.

Even the rumours of such changes and appointments were sufficient to alarm the English Protestants. Traders sold their effects, and abandoned a country in which they

expected a speedy establishment of Romanism, and a total confusion of property. The Irish, instead of waiting quietly for the effects of the king's favor, seemed rather solicitous to augment the terror of their rivals. They boasted of their correspondence with Whitehall, and their intelligence of every purpose of their favorite monarch. They talked with confidence of alterations to be made in the army ; and whispered their expectations of some extraordinary changes in ecclesiastical affairs. The Archbishopric of Cashel was vacant, nor could the king be persuaded to fill it up, and the revenues of this and other vacant sees, were reserved for the maintenance of Romish bishops. Orders were issued by the king's command, that the Romish clergy should not be molested in the exercise of their functions ; and these were soon followed by a notification of the royal pleasure, that their prelates should appear publicly in the habit of their order ; and the Protestant clergy were at the same time prohibited from treating of controversial points in the pulpit ; they were also deprived, for the most part, of their subsistence. They could demand no tithes from the Romanists, while Popish incumbents, who every day multiplied by the death, cession, or absence of Protestants, exacted them from all parties. Yet in this day of persecution, both clergy and laity felt an unusual fervour of devotion, and crowded to their places of worship. The Popish government was offended and possibly alarmed at these meetings. A proclamation was issued, confining Protestants to their respective parishes ; which in effect excluded great numbers from public worship, as in several parts of Ireland, two parishes or more had but one church. But the Romish clergy were for measures more direct and violent. By the assistance of magistrates, they seized

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churches for their own use, not in the country only, but in the capital. The Protestants remonstrated with James: he acknowledged his promise of protection, and published a proclamation against these outrages. But the clergy and their votaries disdained obedience to any orders repugnant to the interests of "the faith." A contest now arose between the priests and their king; and in this contest James had the exquisite mortification of finding himself foiled and defeated. His orders of restitution were sometimes evaded, by representing the Church demanded for the Protestants, as a place of strength, and therefore improper to be entrusted to their custody. Christ Church in Dublin was seized and could not be restored, because some arms were said to be concealed in it. When no such frivolous pretences could be urged, the priests and popish magistrates retained the churches with a contemptuous disregard of the repeated orders of a king, whose authority in ecclesiastical affairs they totally renounced. And whatever impotent resentment he expressed at this insolence, he still resigned himself servilely to the clergy: and seemed only solicitous to employ his momentary power for making Ireland what he called "a Catholic kingdom". An order was issued in the name of his governor of Dublin, that no more than five Protestants should meet together, even in churches, on pain of death. The alarm of an invasion indeed was pleaded for this severity, but vulgar bigotry was ever the predominant principle of James. At the very moment, when formidable enemies were gathering round him, he thought himself worthily employed in filling the diocese of Meath with popish incumbents, and erecting a Benedictine nunnery in Dublin.*

* The Church *in* England is at this moment suffering by

To increase the gloom now evidently impressed on every Protestant, the earl of Tyrconnel arrived in Ireland with power to command and regulate the army, independently of the Lord Lieutenant, with particular orders for

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Tyrconnel
arrives in
Ireland.

means of as deeply concocted a conspiracy, as ever emanated from the college of the Jesuits, to bring the Church again under the yoke of the papal See ; and in the midst of all this peril and danger, arising from the introduction of ‘ false doctrine, heresy, and schism,’ many of her Bishops appear to be very inadequately impressed with the dangers which threaten, and the enemies which surround her.

The Bishops of London and Exeter have considered themselves, like James the Second, “worthily employed” in following the rubrical question put forward by a master-mind to divert attention from the real question at issue, and to induce the bishops to advance in a wrong direction. For the present however, they have happily in compliance with the wise and dignified advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, withdrawn this ecclesiastical command, on matters non-essential in themselves, and whose only tendency appears to be, the alienating the Laity from the Established Church.

In the Bishop of Exeter’s pastoral, he insisted upon the whole rubric,¹ and relies chiefly for support on the Act of Uniformity ;—

¹ Immediately after the creed in the communion-service, ‘The curate shall declare unto the people what holy days, or fasting days, &c., and then also, (if occasion be,) shall notice be given of the communion, &c. THEN SHALL FOLLOW THE SERMON, &c.’ Again, ‘*when the minister giveth warning for the celebration of the holy communion, &c., AFTER THE SERMON OR HOMILY ENDED, he shall read the exhortation following.*’ I should like to know the bishop’s directions in this case. The only way in which I can reconcile these two contradictory rubrics, is, that in our parish churches, where the service generally concludes with the Nicene creed, the first rubric is to be followed, and in our cathedral and collegiate churches, where the third service is introduced, the second is to be observed.

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the admission of Romanists to the freedom of corporations, and the offices of sheriffs and justices of the peace, and with a number of new military commissions, whereby the old Protestant officers were suspended, and the worst and meanest of the Romish party substituted in their place. His natural violence was inflamed by the extravagant adulation with which the Romish party received their patron and protector, and prompted him to the most insolent and contemptuous treatment of the Lord Lieute-

declaring the sermon to be part and parcel of the communion-service, commanding the use of the surplice at all times in the pulpit, and inhibiting extempore prayer in that place. It appears however to be a question, whether the rubric be law, by the Act of Uniformity ; but even if it be, its observance as a whole is impossible. By the bishop's own late decision, if the parish were to provide albe, cope, and vest, these and not the surplice, should be worn in the pulpit. It is denied also, that the sermon is any part of the communion-service ; its very nature seems to preclude the possibility of its being so, for the whole of that beautiful service is *verbally prescribed* ; and perhaps it is for this very reason, that the preacher throws off the ecclesiastical garment, when ceasing to utter the authoritative voice of the Church, and commencing to deliver his own sentiments.

The decision of the bishop appears, however, to be partial ; why are not the Homilies required to be read according to law ? Because they are unpalatable to the rubrical party. Why is not morning and evening prayer in every church in the diocese commanded according to the rubric ? Because the thing is impossible. Why are the canons neglected which enjoin the stated preaching of sermons against popery ? And house-visitations of papists by the clergy, with earnest diligence to awake them to their errors ? Because it is unpalatable. Justly may the Editor of the Standard newspaper exclaim, 'Is it not deplorable that a mind like the Bishop of Exeter's, should be employed about such things.'—See the Bishop of Worcester's address. Appendix, No. 2.

nant. He proceeded to execute the king's commands with eager impatience; officers and privates were dismissed from the army, without any plausible cause assigned, frequently with abuse and contumely, sometimes with injustice and cruelty. Their places were supplied by Irish Romanists, and those only admitted to preferments who entertained the highest notions of the authority of the Pope. The vulgar, in their ignorance, when they had taken the oath of fidelity, imagined that they had sworn fidelity to the Pope and their religion, and declared that their priests had forbidden them to take any other oath.

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16—19.

The bolder and more violent of the Romish party declared, that in a few months, not a Protestant would be left in the army; and now that they had gotten arms, they would speedily regain their lands. Some of the old proprietors cautioned the tenants against paying any rent to their Protestant landlords, and in the same spirit, some Romish clergy forbade the people to pay tithes to the Protestant incumbents.

In the mean time, Clarendon was accused to the King of mal-administration, in several instances, and this was alleged without regard to candor or veracity. His defence was clear and satisfactory; but his brother Rochester refused to renounce his religion and was removed from the office of treasurer; and he himself was not found an instrument suited to all the designs wildly conceived, and hastily pursued by the bigotted or insidious counsellors of a bigotted and deluded King. The appointment of a successor to Lord Clarendon became an object of deliberation in the cabinet. Several Lords were proposed and rejected by the King. Sunderland, the prime minister, flattered the par-

Clarendon
removed.

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16—19.

Tyrconnel
appointed
Lord Deputy.

tialities of his master, by recommending Tyrconnel, the most unworthy and dangerous of all the competitors, who, stipulating to pay him an annual pension from the profits of the Irish government, was appointed chief governor of Ireland, with the inferior title of lord deputy.*

* Tyrconnel was a native of Ireland, descended from an old English race of the pale ; he was born about the time when this race united themselves with the original Irish, and concurring in their political intrigues, was led to concur also in their insurrections. From his infancy he imbibed his sentiments of religion and politics from the most bigotted Romanists, and those most hostile to English government. His obsequiousness and vivacity recommended him to the royal brothers on the continent, at a time when an obsequious and lively associate was particularly suited to the vacant hours of their exile. Here he displayed his revengeful spirit in no very honorable manner, by proposing to assassinate Oliver Cromwell. When provoked by the supposed injuries of his party, he threatened to turn his poignard on the Duke of Ormond ; he was incautious and precipitate, virulent in his censures, with such a total disregard to truth, as even became proverbial : furious in his animosities to a degree of apparent frenzy, yet not with that placability which sometimes attends the sudden burst of passion ;—his revenge was steadily and unalterably pursued. In the vanity of that power he gradually acquired, he insulted his superiors and tyrannized over those beneath him : to the one his deportment was vulgar, to the other brutal. If at any time, he condescended to artifice and insinuation, the violence of his natural temper was soon discovered, for the least disappointment cast him into a paroxysm of rage. Every step of his exaltation was gained by bribery and flattery, and enjoyed without temper, justice or decency. It is now ascertained that, doubtful of the king's success in the struggle for restoring Romanism in England, he had made secret overtures to some of the French agents, for casting off all connection with England in case of James's death, and with the aid of Louis, proposed placing the crown of Ireland on his own head. M. Mazure has brought this remarkable fact to light. Bonrepos, a French emissary in England, was authorized by his court to proceed in a negociation

To this Romish delegate of a Romish Prince, Lord Clarendon resigned the sword of state, in a general and violent agitation of the kingdom. He embarked at the port of Dublin, *attended by fifteen hundred of its Protestant families*, who abandoned a country where their peace, property, and lives, were exposed to the malice of a party now exulting in the fulness of their triumph having their friend and patron in supreme authority, who was attended by Romish ministers and officers of state.

CENTURY
16—19.

Fifteen hundred protestant families leave the kingdom.

Sir Charles Porter had not proved so pliant as the King expected. He conducted himself to all parties with that equity and impartiality which suited his station, and declared against being instrumental in any illegal or clandestine designs. He was removed from his office, and Sir Alexander Fitton placed at the head of the chancery in Ireland, a man convicted of forgery, but who redeemed the infamy of his character by conforming to the King's religion. An appointment so odious and alarming, was soon followed by substituting Nagle, the popish lawyer, as Attorney General in the place of Sir William Domville, a Protestant long distinguished by his loyalty and abilities. Nugent and Rice were advanced to the station of chief judges; Irish Romanists were chosen to succeed them, and three Protestants only were suffered to remain on the bench, Keating and Worth, who were considered as implicitly obedient, and Lyndon, a man equally mean and

with Tyrconnel, for the separation of the two islands, in case a Protestant should succeed to the crown of England. He had accordingly a private interview with a confidential agent of the Lord-Lieutenant at Chester, in the month of October, 1687, when Tyrconnel undertook, that in less than a year every thing should be prepared.

CENTURY
16—19.

The army of
Ireland
romanized.

insignificant. In courts thus supplied, were the validity of outlawries and forfeitures, the title of Protestants, and the claims of Romanists to be determined.

Almost the whole army of Ireland was by this time formed of Irish Romanists, whilst a number of Protestant officers, deprived of the commissions which they had purchased, and who had been gradually driven from the kingdom, sought shelter in Holland; where, making known their grievances to the Prince of Orange, they were by him protected and employed. The admission of Romanists into the several corporations had proceeded slowly during the administration of Lord Clarendon; but some more summary method was now to be devised, to invest this party with the whole power of the kingdom, and especially the power of modelling all future parliaments. Tyrconnel addressed himself to the city of Dublin, and without even assigning any plausible pretence, recommended to them to resign their charter to the King. They hesitated, he grew more peremptory; they still delayed their answer; enraged, he loaded them with reproaches, and thundered out the severity of the royal vengeance on their perverseness. It was in vain to urge reason on the deputy, or to expect justice from him. Their Recorder was therefore despatched to Whitehall; introduced to the King by the Duke of Ormond, and presented their petition, setting forth their loyalty and services, and imploring the continuance of their charter. The application was rejected, a *quo warranto* immediately issued, and judgment hastily pronounced against their charter. Many other corporations were dissolved by the same procedure within the short space of two terms; some corporations were either flattered or intimidated into a surrender of their charters. In several instances, a new charter was granted to such men as

The Protestant corporations dissolved.

the attorney general approved, who were put in possession of the corporation by a Romish sheriff, and the former possessors left to bring their action against the intruders before Romish judges, and where these had the greatest power, the ancient members were often imprisoned for their disobedience.

In forming the new corporations, it was the general custom, that in great cities, where the English interest had been predominant, two thirds of the members should be Romanists, and one third Protestants, but the so-called Protestants were chosen from the poor, the profligate, and contemptible, and although lords and gentlemen of the adjacent country were taken into every corporation, yet it was found necessary, in order to complete these bodies, to receive an additional number of the most scandalous and barbarous Irish; so that in one northern city, a man was made chief magistrate who had been condemned to the gallows.

From the attacks made by James on the learned bodies of England, it could not be expected that the university of Dublin, the only Protestant Seminary in Ireland, should be left entirely unmolested. It was indeed an object of particular envy to those who wished to make the whole island papal, and before Lord Clarendon's removal, the King's mandate was presented to the governors of the University, directing them to admit one Green, a Romanist, to a professorship, with all its emoluments and arrears of salary. It was styled in the King's letter a professorship of the Irish language, but so ignorant were his advisers, that they were not aware that no such professorship had ever been established. The founder and his grant, the office and its emoluments, existed only in their own imaginations. Green was thus disappointed; but the University dreading further interference, and sharing in the general con-

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sternation of Protestants on the appointment of Tyrconnel to the government of Ireland, seem to have expected with the timidity of retired men, the worst results from a popish administration.

In consequence of these apprehensions they resolved to convert most of their plate into money, for the purpose of erecting new buildings, and purchasing new lands. The consent of their visitors was obtained, and also the consent of Clarendon, for transporting the plate (duty free) into England, it being considered a better market. In the mean time, Tyrconnel arrives, is informed of this transaction, seizes the plate in the port of Dublin, and deposits it in the King's stores. The more moderate of his advisers, ashamed of this tyranny, interposed, and prevailed on him to restore it to the University. The plate being sold, in an instant, all the absurd fury of Tyrconnel was rekindled. The purchaser appearing before him, Nugent, the Lord Chief Justice, accused him of purchasing stolen goods, the property of the King, and obliged him to give security to prosecute the governors of the University. Happily Nagle was possessed of more reason and temper, and by the authority of his opinion defended them from further outrage.

But the terror excited by this senseless violence of Tyrconnel had scarcely subsided, when another letter from the King directed that a person named Doyle should be admitted to a Fellowship, without taking any but the Fellowship oath. This man was both ignorant and profligate, but being lately reconciled to Romanism, the merit of his conversion must be rewarded. Yet here again, the ignorance of his patrons happily defeated the designs of their party. The oath of a fellow included in it the oath of supremacy, and this Doyle refused to take. The terms

of the King's mandate were so explicit, that the Romish judges directed him to procure a second letter; but his character proving infamous, his friends were ashamed to make any further effort in his favour. The vexation of Tyrconnel at this disappointment was expressed in a manner worthy of him; he stopped the pension annually paid to the University from the exchequer, and which, at this time, constituted the chief part of its revenue.*

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* This Tyrconnelian mode of suppressing Protestant institutions, has been carried to a frightful extent, within the last few years. There is not one Protestant institution in the whole country, with the exception of Trinity College, Dublin, which has not suffered more or less from this and other baneful processes. Chartered institutions, which had been the object of the Irish parliament's especial bounty, have been suppressed, and even their incorporated property has been confiscated, and otherwise appropriated; and there is now more money granted annually for Romish purposes, than ever was contemplated for Protestant churches.

The Maynooth grant is now to be augmented. 'It may be recollected,' says Sir Robert Peel, 'that when in opposition, I resisted a motion made for the purpose of taking from that college the allowance now usually granted to it. I stated, that such a proposal was *in violation of an engagement*, which had been entered into by a parliament exclusively Protestant, and that engagement was to provide domestic education for Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in Ireland. The engagement was to supply a want of ecclesiastical education, by the foundation of a college, for the giving a spiritual education in that country.'

My Lord Sandon, the member for Liverpool, adopts this statement of Sir Robert Peel's, as the foundation of his intention to support the government augmentation. On the same occasion, he said, '*He was not acquainted with the peculiarities of Maynooth*, but he considered it to be an inheritance from the Irish parliament, and he confessed, that he thought it was their duty to carry out the spirit of the engagement.' This *English* mode of legislating for Ireland, is what will make Ireland a nation of repealers. 'His lordship is not

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These repeated disappointments did not discourage the priests, from their designs against the University of Dublin, nor was James deterred by the consequences of his interference with the English Universities. In a few months after his arrival in Ireland, a mandamus was presented to the governors of the Dublin University in favour

acquainted with the peculiarities of Maynooth,' the very thing he ought to have made himself acquainted with, and yet he gives his support to what he acknowledged himself to be in perfect ignorance of.

Sir Robert Peel on a former occasion declared, 'that not even the solemn compact of the act of union between two ancient and independent kingdoms, would stand in his way, if he thought that the established church in Ireland ought to be destroyed.' The stress laid therefore upon the Maynooth compact, is a mere piece of state policy and convenience, and this becomes the more evident when we find upon enquiry, that there is not, and never was any such compact, either expressed, or implied.

The act by which Maynooth College was established passed the Irish parliament in 1795, and it states in the preamble the cause which rendered it necessary. 'Whereas by the laws now in force in this kingdom, it is not lawful to endow any college or seminary for the education exclusively of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion ; and it is now become expedient that a seminary should be established for that purpose,' &c. &c.

This act was passed at the request of the Roman Catholics themselves ; the Romish Archbishop, Dr. Troy, memorialized the government, insisting on the hardship and the danger of obliging the Irish priests to obtain their education abroad, and thus obtained *permission* to establish a college.

The first clause names the trustees, and provides that, 'the said trustees shall have full power and authority to *receive subscriptions and donations*, to enable them to establish and endow an academy.' But it is obvious that a donation *towards the establishment* of an academy, can never imply a contract to pay the same, or a larger sum for the *annual* maintenance of that establishment, and accordingly we find, that while subsequent grants were made, they often

of Green, who had been already disappointed of his imaginary professorship. He was now destined to another office, that of senior fellow of Trinity College.

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At a time when this body shared deeply in the general calamity; when no rents could be collected; when their pension from the exchequer was withheld; when their daily food was purchased by selling some part of their re-

were of smaller amount than the first. Thus in 1800, only £4093 was given, and in 1801, only £5820.

Where then, is the contract, by which the state bound itself to *maintain* Maynooth? On the contrary we have the highest authority for asserting, that in consenting to the establishment of the college, and in giving a donation 'towards its establishment,' the government of that day never contemplated taking upon itself the maintenance of the institution. In the debate of April 29, 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington, said, and he had the fullest opportunity of knowing the truth of what he asserted, that '*the fact was*, that when the Maynooth institution was first established, *it was not intended*, that it should be maintained by the public purse;—the memorial presented previously to the foundation of that establishment, prayed for a charter, in order that their funds might be better secured.'

One more pretext remains, by which the idea of a *contract*, is sometimes kept up. It is said 'that the British parliament received from the Irish parliament a list of certain annual grants to charities, &c., and virtually engaged to continue these payments.'

Sir Robert Inglis shewed the fallacy of this pretence, in the debate of June 23, 1840. He then said 'I was content in former years to vote for this grant, though with great repugnance, as a legacy from the parliament of Ireland. There were about thirty-six votes for charities, which the Irish parliament regularly maintained, I felt that I ought not to resist the vote for this college; but now that parliament has broken through this rule, taking away grants to *Protestant* institutions, *which stood on the same footing*, I feel that every case must stand on its own merits, and that the argument from precedent, and the idea of a legacy from the deceased parlia-

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maining plate, when the terrors of royal vengeance were thundered in their ears, and James and his forces at hand to execute their threats; the governors undauntedly refused obedience to the mandamus. They pleaded their own cause, before Sir Richard Nagle; they urged the incapacity of Green, and the false allegations of his petition; ‘But there are much more important reasons,’ said

ment is gone.’ So much then, for the idea of a national compact concerning Maynooth, the whole indeed appears to be an absolute fiction.

For the information of my Lord Sandon, and others who are ‘not acquainted with the peculiarities of Maynooth,’ we now state that the object of the college is, to provide a supply of priests to offer ‘*the sacrifice of the mass,*’ for a portion of the population of Ireland who profess the religion and worship of the Church of Rome. Now this sacrifice of the mass is declared upon oath by the Queen, Lords, and Commons, to ‘*be superstitious and idolatrous,*’ and pronounced by the articles of religion of the united Church of England and Ireland to be ‘a blasphemous fable, and dangerous deceit,’ unto which sentence every clergyman of the church has given his solemn assent, and ex animo, with his hand subscribed, being convinced, that this *protestation*, for which the martyrs of the reformed Church of England laid down their lives at the stake, is perfectly true, and according to the scriptures. And not only is the mass an antichristian sacrifice, but the priesthood, which is ordained to offer it, is an antichristian priesthood also. For Jesus Christ the eternal priest, after the order of Melchisedec, when he offered himself “once,” and “once for all,” put an end to all priesthood upon earth to offer for sins, and now in the tabernacle above, whereinto he has passed, with his own blood, and where he “ever lives to make intercession for us,” retains in his own person, the same priesthood, which is as untransferable and incommunicable to any man, or creature, as is his own eternal Spirit or Godhead;—the high altar that sanctified, the gift and sacrifice of his human body for our sins.

To establish then, or to perpetuate in the country, as a government institution, the college of Maynooth, is to oppose Christ him-

they, 'drawn as well from the statutes relating to religion as from the obligation of oaths we have taken, and the interest of our religion (which we will never desert) that render it wholly impossible for us, *without violating our consciences*, to have any concurrence, or to be any way concerned in the admission of him.'

The issue of this unequal contest, was speedy and decisive. In a few days fellows and scholars were forcibly

self, and directly to set up, and maintain against him, and his 'unchangeable priesthood,' another order of 'sacrificers,' which being not ordained of God, is, and must be, in its origin and essence 'pagan and antichristian.' When viewed in this light, and weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, how hateful must the conduct of Protestant England appear in the eyes of a jealous God, who searcheth the hearts and trieth the reins of the children of men.

Since writing the above, I have read Lord Sandon's Speech on the Maynooth Endowment Bill. His Lordship appears to be as ignorant of the history of his country, as he is of the peculiarities of Maynooth. 'England,' says his Lordship 'was perfectly right, when she reformed herself, to take the national Church property with her; but what did they do in Ireland? Why without any change in the religious principles of the people, their property was taken from them. He might now look upon this measure, as some restitution for the spoliation then committed.'

In England, the property was taken from the entire bench of bishops (with one solitary exception) 'without being reformed, or any change in their religious principles.' 'Restitution for spoliation then committed,' may be necessary *there*, but in Ireland, the case was totally different, as the Reformation was in that country carried into effect by the unanimous concurrence of the whole body of the people, lay and ecclesiastic. The faith of the primitive Irish Church was proclaimed by act of parliament, and joyfully received by all the inhabitants of the land. A large proportion of the people since that period becoming dissenters, as was the case also in England, gives no claim whatever for restitution, when no spoliation had ever taken place.—See chap. XIII., Queen Elizabeth.

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The College
of Dublin
broken up,
the apart-
ments turned
into prisons.

ejected by the soldiers of a Prince, who had promised not only to defend, but to augment their privileges. The property of particular members, the communion plate, library, and furniture, of the community, were all seized. Their chapel was converted into a magazine. Their chambers into prisons. The members of the College only obtained their personal liberty through the intercession of the bishop of Meath; and this on the express condition that three of them should not meet together on pain of death. Petre is said to have suggested to James, the design of conferring this college on the Jesuits. In the mean time, Moor, a Romish Ecclesiastic, was nominated Provost, a man of liberal sentiments, and a lover of letters; who with the assistance of Macarthy, another of his order, preserved the library, books, and manuscripts, from the ravages of a barbarous army.*

* 'Dark and mysterious rumours are whispered,' says Dr. Miller in his 'Present Crisis,' 'of important innovations in favour of Romanism, to be introduced into the university of Dublin, the main support of the Protestant Church in Ireland, as that church is of the Protestant religion of this country and to the integrity of the empire.' Let the present governors of our University keep constantly in view the bright example set before them by their predecessors in James the Second's times, and remind the Premier in the language of Doctor Miller, the distinguished Nestor of the University and of the Church, 'that an effort was once made, in circumstances not very dissimilar, to put down the Protestant Church of England; and that it signally failed, as I confidently predict of this other, which appears to be at present directed against the Protestant church in this country. When James the Second undertook to establish the Church of Rome on the ruin of the national religion, all opposition in parliament to his government appeared to have been overcome, and it seemed, it must be supposed, to himself, that he might carry into execution, any measures, which

Ireland now exhibited a gloomy scene of oppression and dejection ; of power exercised without decency, and injuries sustained without redress. The *English interest*, which Princes and statesmen had wisely laboured to establish in the country, was discouraged, and threatened with final extirpation. But new changes, and new commotions were at hand, the obstinacy and bigotry of the King—his headstrong and insidious counsellors—his foreign enemies—the spirit of the old republicans not yet extinguished—the just and general indignation of subjects whose rights had been trampled down with scorn,—their well-grounded fears for the constitution—their solicitude for religion, all conspired to produce a revolution, the most glorious and important of those events, which dignify the annals of the British Empire.

The enterprize of the Prince of Orange was yet a secret to James, when Tyrconnel received intelligence of his design from Amsterdam, and conveyed it to the King. It was received with derision both by Sunderland and his master. But this infatuated Prince was soon awakened to a sense of his danger ; and on the first certainty of an

Enterprise of
the Prince
of Orange.

he might be disposed to dictate. He accordingly proceeded to try the desperate experiment, and in the prosecution of it, endeavoured to render the Protestant church the agent of its own ruin, by requiring its clergy to read in their churches a proclamation for establishing a general liberty of religious profession, which might shelter from observation and objection the advances of the Church of Rome. The scheme was, however, frustrated, by the determined, because *conscientious*, opposition of a small number of Protestant prelates, who refused to become the betrayers of their church. These were brought to trial for uttering a seditious libel, in presenting a petition to be excused ; they were acquitted of the charge by a verdict of their country ; and the power of their infatuated sovereign was from that moment at an end.—(p. 12, 13.)

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invasion, Tyrconnel was directed to transport four thousand troops to England. Every day ushered in new reports. In Ireland they were received with astonishment. Protestants and Romanists alike rushed in crowds to Dublin, impatient for intelligence, and eager to confirm their hopes, or allay their fears, by conferring with their associates.

The Romanists still affected to despise the Prince of Orange and his attempt. They exclaimed that the states of Holland were weary of him, and therefore were sending him on a desperate enterprize, to end his days on a scaffold like the Duke of Monmouth. Nugent, the Lord Chief Justice, delivered these sentiments from the Bench, and spoke with delight of English rebels hung up every where in clusters. But advices were soon received that the Prince had landed, and that James was deserted by his subjects.

Anonymous letters extensively circulated, now spread among the Protestants the conviction, that a general massacre was intended. Those letters gave circumstantial accounts of this design, and mentioned Sunday the ninth of December, as the day fixed on for their extermination. The capital became a scene of uproar and confusion; numbers rushed to the coasts and embarked for England. Others sought shelter in walled towns, and Protestant settlements. In the northern countries, where their numbers gave them confidence, they collected such arms as still remained among them, and prepared for defence.

On the first alarm of the Prince of Orange's invasion, Tyrconnel had withdrawn the garrison of Derry to Dublin; but soon sensible of his mistake in leaving such a post in the hands of the townsmen, he detached a regiment of 1200 men, to take possession of the city. On the approach

The garrison
of Derry
withdrawn.

of this body, considerable doubt existed in the town as to what course it was advisable to adopt, some proposed to shut the gates against Tyrconnel's troops, others to submit quietly. At length, when the advanced guard appeared within three hundred yards of the ferry-gate, nine young men drew their swords, made themselves masters of the keys of the city, raised the draw-bridge and locked the ferry-gate ; and being quickly joined by others, the remaining gates were soon secured.

The Earl of Antrim's regiment consisted entirely of Romanists, Irish and Highlanders. This body of 1200 men, tall and imposing in their aspect, followed by a crowd of women and children, arrived at Limavady, a village within twelve miles of Derry, at the very moment when the inhabitants, receiving the information of an intended massacre, were deliberating on this important intelligence. The proprietor of this village was terrified at the disorder and turbulence of a body, which, during this time of suspicion, seemed rather instruments of slaughter and barbarity, than the regular forces of government. He instantly dispatched the most alarming accounts to Derry of the number, appearance, and destination of his guests, conjuring the citizens to shut their gates against the ' barbarous crew.' This letter was the means, under God, of preserving the Protestants of Ireland. Rosen, who was sent to command the siege, conducted it with vigor and address, thundered out menaces against the besieged, and thus, by convincing them that no mercy was to be expected, confirmed their resolution to hold out to the last. Outrageous at this obstinacy, Rosen declared, that if the town were not surrendered by the first day of July, all the Protestants throughout the country as far as Ballyshannon, Charlemont, Belfast, Innishowen, pro-

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513.

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The Protestants driven under the walls.

tected and unprotected alike, should be given up to plunder, and driven under their walls, there to perish, unless relieved by a surrender of the town. The appointed day arrived, but the garrison continued their defence. The next morning a confused multitude was seen hurrying towards the walls. At a distance they were mistaken for enemies; the garrison fired on them, but happily without injury to the thousands of miserable Protestants, of all ages and conditions, infirm, old, young, women, infants, goaded on by the soldiers, whose ears were tortured with their shrieks, and who executed their orders it is said with tears.

The afflicting spectacle transported the garrison to fury. Numbers of the wretched sufferers thus driven to perish beneath their walls, conjured them with bended knees, and lifted hands, by no means to consider their sufferings, but to defend their lives bravely against an enemy, who sought to involve them all in one common ruin. Happily the intelligence of these barbarities speedily reached Dublin. The Bishop of Meath remonstrated with James, who answered, that he had already ordered these captives to be released, observing, that such severities were usual in foreign service, however shocking they might appear to his subjects. Those who survived a confinement of three days without sustenance, or shelter, were thus permitted to return to their homes, where the ravages of the soldiery had left them utterly destitute. Some of their ablest men had been stolen into the town, and five hundred useless people in exchange had been exchanged for them, who passed undiscovered, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy.

The garrison, with a confirmed horror of the besiegers, continued their obstinate defence, and even made desperate

and successful sallies, but were too much weakened by hunger to pursue their advantage. The flesh of horses, dogs and vermin, hides, tallow, and other nauseous substances, were purchased at extravagant prices and eagerly devoured. Even such miserable resources began to fail, and no means of subsistence could be found for more than two days. Still the languid and ghastly crowds listened to the exhortations of Walker; and still he assured them from the pulpit, that the Almighty would grant them a deliverance.*

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* We might dwell with astonishment on this desperate attempt of a garrison, in a town meanly fortified, and miserably supplied; encumbered with thirty thousand fugitives, who could give them no assistance, and assailed by twenty thousand besiegers. But the plain, unstudied, unadorned effusion of their brave governor, Walker, still rallied their sinking spirits, and inspired hope. 'It did beget,' saith he, 'some disorder among us, and confusion, when we looked about us, and saw what we were doing, our enemies all about us, and our friends running away from us. A garrison we had, composed of a number of poor people, frightened from their own homes, and seemed more fit to hide themselves, than to face an enemy. When we considered that we had no persons of any experience in war among us, and those very persons that were sent to assist us, had so little confidence in the place, that they no sooner saw it, than they thought fit to leave it; that we had but few horse to sally out with, and no forage; no engineers to instruct us in our works; no fireworks, not so much as a hand-grenade to annoy the enemy; not a gun well mounted in the whole town; that we had so many mouths to feed, and not above ten days' provision for them in the opinion of our former governors; that every day several left us, and gave constant intelligence to the enemy; that they had so many opportunities to divide us, and so often endeavoured it, and to betray the governors; that they were so numerous, so powerful, and well appointed an army; that in all human probability, we could not think ourselves in less danger than the Israelites at the Red Sea; when we consider all this, it was obvious enough, what a

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While their minds were yet warm with his harangue, delivered with all the eagerness of a man inspired, they discovered three ships in the river making way to the town. Kirk, who had abandoned them from the 13th of June to the 31st of July, at length thought fit, in their extreme distress, to make a hazardous attempt for their relief; an attempt which might have been made with less danger at the moment of his arrival, and which possibly might still have been deferred, had he not received some intimations of a treaty for surrendering.

The two ships laden with provisions, and convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate, advanced in view, both of the garrison, and the besiegers. On this interesting object they fixed their eyes in all the earnestness of suspense and expectation. The enemy, both from their batteries, and with their musketry, thundered furiously on the ships,

dangerous undertaking we had ventured upon. But the resolution and courage of our people, and the necessity we were under, and the great confidence and dependence among us, on God Almighty, that he would take care of us and preserve us, made us overlook all these difficulties.'

With minds thus possessed, they resisted both the persuasions and the assaults of their besiegers. They made their sallies in a manner unauthorised by military rules. Any officer that could be spared, engaged in the adventure, and any soldiers who pleased followed his standard. Such were the repeated successes of this irregular warfare, that when the besiegers battered the walls, the garrison had the hardiness to advise them to spare their labour and expense, as their gates were ever open, and wider than any breach they could make. Eleven days James continued his assaults with repeated mortifications, and without any prospect of success. Impatient of his disappointments, he left the camp and returned to Dublin, peevishly exclaiming, that if his army had been English, they would have brought him the town piece-meal.

which returned their fire with spirit. The foremost of the victuallers struck vehemently against the boom that had been thrown across the river, broke it, but rebounding with violence, ran aground. The enemy burst instantly into shouts of joy, and prepared to board her; on the crowded walls, the garrison stood stupified by despair. The vessel fired her guns, was extricated by the shock and floated. She passed the boom, and was followed by her companions. The town was relieved and the enemy retired.

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Derry
relieved.

Of the seven thousand five hundred men in garrison in Derry, four thousand three hundred only remained to be witnesses of this deliverance, and of these more than one thousand were incapable of service. These wretched spectres had scarcely tasted food, when they had the hardiness to march in quest of the enemy; and some few were lost by adventuring too boldly on their rear-guard. The enemy retired in vexation to Strabane, having lost eight thousand men by the sword, and by various disorders, in a siege of one hundred and five days.*

I cannot here resist the temptation of giving an account of the conduct of the gallant Enniskilleners. During the whole course of this siege, James's army had been considerably embarrassed in their operations by the Enniskillen men, so were the Protestants named, who had collected about Enniskillen, and chosen Gustavus Hamilton governor of their town, and proclaimed William and Mary. Lord Galmoy marched to reduce them, and invested Crom Castle, their frontier garrison, seated on Lough Erne. As he found it impossible to bring up his cannon,

The gallant
Ennis-
killeners.

William and
Mary pro-
claimed.

* For a full and most interesting account of the siege, see "Derry, by Charlotte Elizabeth."

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he recurred to a ridiculous artifice; eight horses were employed to draw two pieces formed of tin, bound with cords, and so coloured as to resemble cannon. With this new species of artillery, he threatened to batter the castle. The garrison however returned a defiance; and being reinforced from Enniskillen, sallied forth, and drove the enemy from their trenches, returning in triumph with considerable booty, and the tin cannon which had been drawn up with so much apparent difficulty.

Galmoy thus became contemptible; and soon afterwards rendered himself detestable. On his march he had taken two youths prisoners, with whom he found commissions from the Prince of Orange, and whom he proposed to exchange for one of his own officers. The officer was returned, but the youths were executed; and the northerns were thus confirmed in their abhorrence of an enemy at once so cruel and so faithless. Their numbers daily increased, and both their numbers and successes were so magnified, that the ruling party in Dublin expected them speedily at their gates.

But their real numbers were insufficient for any considerable enterprize; nor were they furnished with arms or ammunition, until their victory over a party of the enemy at Belturbet, and the arrival of Kirk, supplied their necessities. They then became so formidable, that a plan was formed, to attack them at once, by three different armies. For this purpose, Macarthy, a gallant and experienced officer, lately created a Peer, encamped at Belturbet, with seven thousand men. Sarsfield, another general equally distinguished, led an army from Connaught; and Fitz James, Duke of Berwick, prepared an attack from the north.

The ignorance of the Enniskilleners of their danger,

proved the means under God of their deliverance. They knew only of the motions of the Connaught army, and marched out with a rapidity so unexpected and astonishing, that they surprised the enemy's camp, and routed them with considerable slaughter. Against the Duke of Berwick, they were however less successful. As he approached Enniskillen, some companies sent to seize on a post, which they might have defended against his numbers, venturing beyond the bounds prescribed, were surprised and cut to pieces; but at the approach of Hamilton, the governor, Berwick retired.

Macarthy, the remaining general, was still more formidable; with an army which had already suppressed Lord Inchiquin in Munster, he marched towards Enniskillen, and invested Crom. An officer called Berry, was detached to the relief of the Castle, but as the enemy advanced against him, with a superior force, he found it necessary to retreat. Being pursued, a skirmish followed, in which the Enniskilleners were victorious; and the arrival of the main bodies on each side, (the one commanded by Macarthy, the other by Wolsley, one of Kirk's officers), produced a general engagement near Newton Butler, and Lisnaskea, from both of which places the battle has taken its name. The inferior number of the northerns was supplied by an undaunted resolution, and an abhorrence of the enemy. They defeated and pursued them with great slaughter. About two thousand fell by the weapons of an enemy transported by zeal and resentment; about five hundred plunged into Lough Erne, but one only of that number, escaped a watery grave; the same number were made prisoners, and with them their General Macarthy. Stung with the disgraceful issue of his expedition, he had rushed upon the enemy from a wood, whither he had been

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Leland iii.
533, 534.

driven with a few horsemen, when being desperately wounded he was conducted to Enniskillen, expressing fear that his wounds might not prove mortal. The news of this victory was soon conveyed to the army which retired from Derry, and served to precipitate their flight."

When the Enniskilleners had joined the Duke Schomberg's army, and formed his advanced guard, in all the pride of victory, when their success had been completed, by gaining Sligo, from which the Irish garrison, commanded by Sarsfield fled precipitately on a false alarm of danger,—the English beheld these men, whose exploits had been so celebrated, with surprize and disappointment. Instead of a regular and well-disciplined regiment, they found them a mere militia without any of the pomp, and scarcely furnished with the conveniences, of war: their equipage mean and unseemly, and their horses of the low breed of the country; and yet with all these disadvantages, they retained an undaunted spirit, and a contempt of the enemy; they beheld their reconnoitering parties with impatience, and lamented the scrupulous discipline of Schomberg, which prevented them from flying to the attack. These undaunted men distinguished themselves again at the battle of the Boyne, and in our day the heavy brigade, consisting of the Enniskilleners, the Scotch Greys, and the Dragoon Guards, gained additional renown on the bloody field of Waterloo.

The noble example of Derry and Enniskillen was followed by other northern towns. In different counties, parties arose under the direction of their respective leaders, and county councils were nominated, beside a general council at Hillsborough, which had the power of appointing officers, and directing operations. In the mean time

the Prince of Orange, who had now been invested in England, with that sovereignty which James had by his flight to France abandoned, gave assurances of assistance, and in consequence of this William and Mary were proclaimed in all the northern towns.

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During the greater part of the unconstitutional and tyrannical reign of James the second, and the long and bloody wars, that followed his abdication; the clergy received from their lawful property scarcely sufficient to purchase bread for their families; whilst their enemies were daily increasing in violence, and offering them continued affronts and injuries, and indeed only waiting for the opportunity which might be afforded by a parliament, for voting them, ‘the main grievance of the nation.’*

The deplorable state of the Church.

* The phraseology of the British House of Commons has not been much improved by the introduction into it of Romish and radical members. The parliament of the present day, is a new and improved edition of the Irish House of Commons in the days of James the Second. In those days the church in Ireland was only ‘the main grievance of the nation,’ but now when it has become one of the most useful and truly spiritual churches on the face of the earth, it is called by Mr. Gisborne, (himself the son of a clergyman), ‘a rotten church.’ Mr. Roebuck “the public accuser” becoming quite sublime on the occasion; calls it ‘a cancerous sore, from which exuded the mephitic blood, which went through the veins, carrying poison into every portion of the body, until it at length became a horrible and putrescent carcase.’ ‘It was the abomination by means of which the people of that country were maddened.’ Truly it may be said of such men, that “with their tongue they have used deceit, and that the poison of asps is under their lips.” We really were in the habit of thinking in our ignorance that Romanism was the disease which circulated in the veins of Ireland, but we must bow of course to the superior knowledge of these *gentlemen*.

But Mr. H. G. Ward out-Herods them all in his proposition,

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‘that the House of Commons should humbly address our gracious sovereign herself, (sworn “to maintain, and preserve inviolably the settlement of the united Church of England and Ireland,”) for the purpose of denouncing the establishment of that church, as the chief grievance of Ireland, and of proffering the co-operation of her commons in parliament assembled towards its demolition.’ ‘A motion for which,’ (says Mr. Dudley Perceval), ‘in better times of the House, the mover would have been sent to the Tower,—if not to Tower-Hill; and ought to have been so sent; if there is any sense in exacting the oath of allegiance from every member of parliament, before he takes his seat there, and if the duties of the subject implied in that oath are correlative (as surely they must be) with the duties of the sovereign, as ascertained, defined, and expressed, by the permanent and fundamental law of the land, in the greatest of all constitutional solemnities.’—Speech of the late Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, with notes by Dudley Perceval, Esq. Page 103.

CHAPTER XIX.

WILLIAM III.—FROM 1688—1702.

THE REVOLUTION—JAMES LANDS IN IRELAND—CALLS A PARLIAMENT TO MEET IN DUBLIN—THE ACTS OF SETTLEMENT REPEALED—JAMES HIMSELF PRECLUDED FROM PARDONING—WILLIAM DETERMINES TO SUPPORT HIS FRIENDS IN IRELAND—DUKE SCHOMBERG WITH HIS ARMY ARRIVES IN IRELAND—JAMES'S ONLY SHIP OF WAR CAPTURED—THE FORT OF CHARLEMONT TAKEN—KING WILLIAM LANDS AT CARRICKFERGUS—HIS FIRST ACT IN IRELAND—JAMES MARCHES TO MEET HIM—WILLIAM'S ARMY MOVES TOWARDS THE BOYNE—WILLIAM SLIGHTLY WOUNDED, SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN KILLED—PARIS ILLUMINATED IN CONSEQUENCE OF IT—THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE—JAMES, CONSIDERING THE CONTEST AS DECIDED, FLIES TO WATERFORD AND EMBARKS FOR FRANCE—JAMES'S ADHERENTS CARRY ON THE WAR—WILLIAM ARRIVES IN DUBLIN—WATERFORD CAPITULATES—THE UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON ATHLONE AND LIMERICK—WILLIAM EMBARKS FOR ENGLAND—THE SIEGE OF ATHLONE—THE TOWN TAKEN—THE BATTLE OF AUGHRIM—GALWAY SURRENDERED—THE SIEGE OF LIMERICK—CAPITULATION OF LIMERICK—THE ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION—THE WAR CONCLUDED.

THE revolution in England was followed by a war in Ireland of three years' duration; a war, on both sides, like that of sixteen hundred and forty-one, for self-preserva-

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The revolution.

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tion. James, who had been soliciting assistance from the court of France, sailed from Brest, on the seventh of March, with fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire-ships, having on board twelve hundred of his native troops in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers.

James lands
in Ireland.

He landed at Kinsale on the twelfth, and arrived in Dublin on the twenty-fourth, with all the pomp of royalty. He instantly removed from the privy council all the Protestant members, and supplied their places with Roman Catholics. He issued five proclamations;—by the first he commanded all Protestants who had lately abandoned the kingdom, to return, under the severest penalties, and that his subjects of every persuasion, should unite against the Prince of Orange. The object of the second was to suppress robberies, ordering all Roman Catholics, not of his army, to lay up their arms, in their several abodes. A third invited the country to bring provisions to his troops; by the fourth, he raised the value of money; and by the last, a parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin on the seventh of May.

Calls a par-
liament.

The acts of
settlement
repealed.

In this parliament, a Bill for repealing the acts of settlement was passed, with a preamble which exculpated the Irish from their rebellion in 1641, and a clause, whereby the real estates of all those who dwelt in any of the three kingdoms, and did not acknowledge king James' power, or who aided or corresponded with those who rebelled against him, were declared to be forfeited and vested in the king. Thus by an act of severity at once ridiculous and detestable, almost every Protestant in Ireland was to be deprived of his estate.

But this Irish parliament, not contented with recovering the estates of their ancestors, and expelling the Protestant

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proprieters, in the fulness of triumphant insolence, they resolved on a proscription as violent as any that had emanated from Rome, by which a number of persons in the service of the Prince of Orange,—those who had retired from the kingdom, and did not return in obedience to the king's proclamation;—numbers who were residing in Britain, and therefore presumed to be adherents to the new government, were all attainted of high treason, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death, and forfeiture, unless they surrendered within certain periods assigned. It was also provided that the estates even of those who were detained abroad by sickness, or nonage, should be seized by the king: and in defiance of justice and humanity, they were to prove their own innocence before they could be restored.

TWO THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-ONE PERSONS, OF ALL ORDERS AND CONDITIONS, PEERS, PEERESSES, PRELATES, BARONETS, KNIGHTS, CLERGY, GENTRY AND YEOMANRY, WERE INCLUDED IN THIS SENTENCE. Their names were hastily collected by their respective neighbours, and received with so much precipitation, that Nagle, on presenting the Bill to James, declared, that 'many were attainted on such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest on common fame.' This act was so framed, as to preclude the king from all power of pardoning, after the first day of November 1689. In the mean time, a statute, which affected the lives and properties of so many thousands, was carefully concealed from them, and lay unpublished in the custody of the chancellor. At length, when four months had elapsed beyond the day limited for pardoning, Sir Thomas Southwell obtained a view of this fatal act, for the instruction of his lawyer, who was to draw a warrant for his pardon, which James had promised.

James precluded from pardoning.

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William de-
termines to
support his
friends.

Duke
Schomberg
with his
army arrives
in Ireland.

Nagle was surprised and enraged at this discovery : and after some evasions, he insisted that the king was only a trustee for the forfeitures, and had not now the power of pardoning Southwell. Nothing therefore remained for James but to reproach his Attorney-General for having framed an act intrenching on his prerogative.*

It was at length determined by William to support his adherents in Ireland, with more effect than he had hitherto done, and to undertake the conduct of the war in person. On the 13th of August, the Duke Schomberg arrived in the bay of Carrickfergus with 10,000 men and some artillery, and landed near Bangor in the county of Down ; 7,000 Danes landed also at Belfast, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg. Schomberg began to furnish his frontier-garrisons with stores. James also prepared for the campaign ; before the opening of which, a trivial incident served to increase the king's mortification. The only frigate he yet retained of that royal fleet which once obeyed him, lay in the bay of Dublin, ready to convoy some small vessels to France laden with various goods, for which he had forced his brass coin on the proprietors. Some firing was heard from sea, when James flattered himself that it was occasioned by some of his English subjects returning to their allegiance. The Strand was quickly crowded, and James himself rode towards the shore at the head of his guards, and thus became spectator of the gallantry of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who had sailed with a few ships from

* Leland iii. 337, 338. Could this be one of the three cases, alluded to by Mr. O'Connel, when he says, 'the Irish Catholics, hree times since the Reformation were restored to power, and never ersecuted a single person, blessed be God.'—p. 74.

Belfast, and now, after some resistance, took the frigate with the whole convoy.

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But what afflicted James still more sensibly was the loss of Charlemont. This fort was esteemed so strong and so well provided, that Schomberg in his progress did not venture to attack it. In spring, however, when his forces were more capable of action, Caillemote, a brave French officer, was posted on the Blackwater, and harassed and straitened the garrison: and as the season advanced, the castle was more closely invested, and the governor summoned to surrender. This governor, O'Regan, a brave Irish officer, deigned no reply, but that 'the old knave Schomberg should not have this castle.' The distresses of the garrison, however, soon becoming intolerable, and the governor, of course, less arrogant, he proposed terms of capitulation, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

The fort of
Charlemont
taken.

Leland,
p. 558.

In the mean time, several regiments of English, Dutch, and Brandenburgers, arrived; and on the 14th day of June, 1690, King William landed at Carrickfergus, attended by Prince George of Denmark, the young Duke of Ormond, and several persons of distinction.*

King
William
lands at Car-
rickfergus.

The first act of his civil authority was the issuing his warrant for the payment of an annual pension of twelve hundred pounds, to the teachers of the presbyterian con-

His first act
in Ireland.

* 'William's resolution to take the Irish war on himself saved not only that country but England; *our own constitution was won on the Boyne*. The star of the house of Stuart grew pale for ever on that illustrious day, when James displayed again the pusillanimity which had cost him his English crown; yet the best friends of William dissuaded him from going into Ireland, so imminent did the peril appear at home.'—(Dalrymple i. p. 97.)

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James
marches to
meet him.

gregations of the northern province,* whilst his military authority was shown by ordering his forces immediately to take the field; they assembled at Loughbrickland where they were joined by William and his train. From thence he removed southward with an army of thirty-six thousand well-appointed men; the fleet coasting slowly in view to supply them with necessaries.

James, on receiving the intelligence of William's landing, committed the guard of Dublin to a body of militia, and marched with six thousand French infantry, to join the main body of his army which lay near Drogheda, on the banks of the river Boyne; his army collectively amounted to about thirty-three thousand. His council of officers advised him not to hazard an engagement against superior numbers; they represented to him, that by a defensive war the resources of the enemy must be exhausted, and as the French monarch had promised to send a fleet to destroy William's transports, his retreat would be cut off. James, however, contended for the necessity of acting vigorously, and expressed his satisfaction, that he had at last an opportunity of having one fair battle for the crown; at the same time, with an ominous precaution, he despatched Sir Patrick Trant to Waterford, to prepare him a ship to convey him to France, in case of a defeat.

On the 30th of June, William's army moved towards

* These men acted with the greatest possible zeal against the cause of Romanism, and the late King. One of their body had the merit of first encouraging the populace to shut the gates of Derry; several of them had patiently endured the hardships of the siege; and in every part of Ulster, these ministers had shared deeply in the distresses of the war. It was happily the custom in those days for the government to reward its friends.

the Boyne in three columns, he marching at the head of his advanced guard, which soon appeared within a few miles of Drogheda. Here, from the summit of a hill, he took a view of the enemy; on their right lay Drogheda, filled with their troops; eastward of the town, on the further banks of the river, their camp extended in two lines, with a morass on the left, difficult to pass; in their front were the fords of the Boyne, deep and dangerous, with rugged banks, defended by some breastworks; in the rear at some distance, lay the church and village of Donore; and three miles further was the pass of Duleek, on which they depended for a retreat.

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William's
army moves
towards the
Boyne.

William's army was now marching into their encampment, when, anxious to gain a nearer and more distinct view of the enemy, he advanced with some officers within musket-shot of a ford, opposite to the village of Oldbridge. Here he conferred for some time on the best method of passing and planting his batteries; riding on still westward, he alighted and sat down to refresh himself on a rising ground.

Neither the motions of William, nor of his army were unnoticed by that of James; Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield, and some other generals, rode slowly along the opposite bank, and discovered the present situation of the king. A party of about forty horse immediately appeared in a field, opposite to the place on which he sat; in their centre they concealed two field-pieces, which they planted unnoticed, under cover of a hedge, and retired. William having mounted his horse at that moment, the first discharge killed a man and two horses at a little distance from him; another ball, which instantly followed, touched the banks of the river, whence it rose in a slanting direction, and slightly wounded his right shoulder, when the

William
wounded.

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royal attendants, as might be expected, crowded round the king in the utmost confusion.

Paris
illuminated.

In the enemy's camp it was supposed he was killed; the news was conveyed to Dublin, and from thence to Paris, which was illuminated, the guns of the Bastile firing a feu de joie on the occasion. In the evening William assembled his principal officers, to whom he declared his resolution of passing the river in front of the enemy; Duke Schomberg endeavoured to dissuade him from this hazardous enterprize, but not being able to prevail, he proposed that part of the army should be immediately detached to secure the bridge of Slane, about three miles westward of the enemy's camp, to cut them off from the pass of Duleek, through which they might retreat; this counsel being also treated with indifference, the Duke retired.* James discovered the same inattention

* It is generally imputed to the indifference with which his counsel was received, that this general retired in disgust, and received the order of battle in his tent, declaring that, 'It was the first ever sent to him there,' and it proved to be the last, as he was killed the next day, at the head of the Huguenot forces, when pointing to some French regiments in their front, and crying out, 'allons, messieurs; voila vos persecuteurs.'

These were his last words. Caillemote, the brave commander of the French Huguenots, received his mortal wound a little time before, and as he lay bleeding in the arms of four soldiers, he collected strength to exclaim repeatedly, in his own language, 'A la gloire, mes enfans! a la gloire.'

The third remarkable person who lost his life on this occasion, was Walker the clergyman, who had so valiantly defended Londonderry against the whole army of King James. He had been very graciously received by King William, who presented him with a reward of five thousand pounds, and a promise of further favour; but his military taste still predominating, he attended his royal patron in this battle, and being shot in the belly, died in a few

as William did to this important pass ; in his council of war, Hamilton recommended that eight regiments might be sent immediately to secure the bridge, when James proposed to employ fifty dragoons in this service ; the general in astonishment bowed and was silent.

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At midnight William rode through his camp with torches, inspected every post, and issued his final orders. Early on the succeeding morning Count Schomberg, son of the Duke, with his cavalry, and Douglas with his infantry, which composed the right wing, marched towards Slane with greater alacrity than the troops sent from the other side to oppose them. They crossed the river without any opposition, except from a regiment of dragoons stationed at the ford ; then advancing, they found their antagonists drawn up in two lines. In forming they mingled their horse and foot promiscuously, until the arrival of more infantry, when they changed their position, drawing their horse to the right, by which they considerably outflanked the enemy. But they had to force their way through fields inclosed by deep ditches, most difficult of passage, especially for the horse, which in the face of the enemy, were obliged to advance in order : while beyond these fields lay a morass, still more embarrassing.

The battle of
the Boyne.

The infantry was ordered to plunge into the river, and while the horse found a firm passage to the right, they forced their way with fatigue and difficulty ; the enemy fled instantly towards Duleek, and were pursued with great slaughter. When it was supposed that the right wing had made good its passage, the infantry in the centre, which

minutes. The bishopric of Derry became vacant three days before the battle, and had he survived that day, he would in all probability have been promoted to that See.

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was commanded by Duke Schomberg, was put in motion. The Dutch guards first entered the river on the right opposite to Oldbridge; the French Protestants and Enniskilleners, Brandenburgers and English, at their several passes on the left, plunging in with alacrity, while the water in some places rose to their breasts, and obliged the infantry to support their arms above their heads.

The Dutch having gained the opposite banks, formed gradually, and drove the Irish from their posts; as they continued to advance, the squadrons and battalions of the enemy suddenly appeared in view behind the eminences which had concealed them; five of these battalions bore down upon the Dutch, who had already passed, but were firmly received and repulsed. The efforts of the Irish horse were equally unsuccessful, two attacks were repelled when the French and Enniskilleners, arriving to the support of the Dutch, drove back a third body of horse with considerable execution. Meanwhile general Hamilton led the Irish infantry to the very margin of the river, to oppose the passage of the French and English, but without making any impression; whilst the enemy's cavalry attacked a squadron of Danes with such intrepidity, that they fled back through the river; the Irish horse pursuing, and on their return fell furiously on the French Huguenots, who were instantly broken.

The Duke Schomberg now rushed through the river, and placed himself at the head of the Huguenot forces, who were deprived of their leader, Caillemote. The Irish horse, who had broken the French Protestants, wheeled through Oldbridge, in order to join their main body, but were here cut down by the Dutch and Enniskilleners. About sixteen of their squadron escaped, and returning from the slaughter of their companions, were

mistaken by the Huguenots for some of their own friends and suffered to pass; they wounded Schomberg in the head, and were hurrying him forward, when he was killed by a shot from his own men.

After incessant firing for an hour, a respite ensued for both sides. The Irish retreated towards Donore, where James stood during the engagement, surrounded by his guards, and here drawing up in good order, once more advanced; William at the head of the Dutch, Danish and English cavalry, which composed the left wing of his army, had now crossed the river, through a dangerous and difficult pass, where his horse floundering in the mud, obliged him to dismount, and receive the assistance of his attendants. When the enemy had advanced almost within musket-shot of his infantry, they halted and again retreated to Donore; where, facing about, they charged with such success, that the English cavalry, though led on by their King, was forced from their ground.

The battle, however, was still maintained with ardour. King William constantly mingled in the hottest part of the engagement, where his presence gave double vigour to his soldiers. The Irish infantry was finally repulsed. Hamilton at the head of his horse made one brave and desperate effort to turn the fortune of the day: but though the attack was furious, they were routed, and their General conveyed a prisoner to William.

While the right wing of William's army, which had forced its way through difficult grounds, pursued the enemy close to Duleek, Lauzun, a French officer, rode up to James, who still continued at Donore, and advised an immediate retreat, as he was in danger of being surrounded. His counsel was at once adopted, and James marched from Duleek at the head of Sarsfield's regiment,

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followed by his army, which poured through the pass, not without some annoyance from a party of English dragoons. Their loss in this engagement was computed at fifteen hundred, whilst that of William's army amounted to scarcely one third of that number.

James now looked on the contest as decided; he hurried to Dublin, assembled the magistrates and council, told them that nothing remained but that he and they should shift for themselves. He advised them to set their prisoners at liberty and submit to the Prince of Orange. Having thrown out some reflections on the courage of the Irish troops, the officers were provoked to retort; and contrasting the active part which William had taken in the battle, with the conduct of James, who looked on as an indifferent spectator, they exclaimed, 'exchange Kings, and we will once more fight the battle.' James fled to Waterford, breaking down the bridges to prevent a pursuit, and instantly embarked for France.

James flies
to Water-
ford.

James' ad-
herents carry
on the war.

Although James had now abandoned his adherents, they determined to carry on the war, and the greater part of the army marched to Limerick and Athlone. Dublin was threatened with all the evils of anarchy, when Fitzgerald, a military officer, dissuading the Protestants, who had been now set free, from executing their purposes of retaliation, assumed the government, and sent to William for assistance. This monarch advanced slowly towards the metropolis, whence he issued a declaration, calculated to detach the lower orders from their leaders; proclaiming pardon to all who would return to their dwellings and surrender their arms; but declaring his resolution at the same time, of leaving the leaders to the event of the war. A commission was also issued for seizing and securing all forfeitures accruing to the crown by the rebellion of the Irish.

Eight days after the battle of the Boyne, William divided his army. General Douglas was detached to reduce Athlone, while the king moved southward. On his march he received intelligence of the defeat of the united fleets of England and Holland by the French. Anxious to gain a secure station for his transports, he prepared to reduce Waterford and Duncannon. Wexford had already declared for him, Clonmel was abandoned; Waterford soon after capitulated, as did Duncannon-fort, on the appearance of Sir Cloudesley Shovel with sixteen frigates. Having obtained his object, and thinking his presence necessary in England, William prepared to return, and leave the conduct of the Irish war to his Generals. Receiving, however, intelligence that the French fleet had retired, he altered his intention and returned to his camp.

In the meantime, Douglas proceeded to Athlone, he marched as through an enemy's country; his men plundering with impunity. To his summons, Grace, the governor of Athlone, returned a defiance; Douglas then commenced a vigorous siege, though without any considerable effect. After several disasters, he determined on retiring, and decamped unmolested at midnight. His army was accompanied by a number of Protestants, who had accepted protection from the Irish army, and on the approach of Douglas, had declared for the English. Douglas then joined the royal army, which was advancing towards Limerick, where the enemy's principal force lay. On the ninth of August, William began his march towards the town; having driven the enemy from the open country, he encamped within cannon-shot of the walls. His heavy artillery had not yet arrived, but he summoned the garrison to surrender; Boileau, the governor, expressed his

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surprise at the summons, and declared his resolution to make a vigorous defence. William was at the same time assured, that this spirited answer by no means corresponded with the sentiments of the garrison, who were restrained from an immediate submission, only by the remonstrances of the governor, the Duke of Berwick, and Sarsfield. His hopes of success were further strengthened, by Ginckle, his Dutch General, gaining a ford about three miles from the town, and posting a strong detachment at each side of the river.

The unsuccessful attack on Athlone and Limerick.

Meanwhile the garrison prepared for a vigorous defence. Having received information of the train expected by William from Dublin, and all the particulars concerning its route, Sarsfield determined on attempting to surprise it. He apprehended from the state of the garrison, that if this train should arrive the enemy must soon become masters of Limerick. With a party of chosen cavalry, he crossed the Shannon near Killaloe, and in the mountains waited the approach of the convoy. The besiegers having become acquainted with his motions, William ordered Sir John Lanier to march with five hundred horse, to meet the train—this order was executed too slowly; the train arrived within a day's march of the English camp, and the officer who commanded the convoy, apprehending no danger, encamped without sufficient caution. Sarsfield, taking advantage of their situation rushed suddenly on them, and either killed or dispersed the whole party; then collecting the cannon, carriages, waggons, and ammunition, he filled the cannon with powder, fixed their mouths in the ground, and laying a train to the heap, fired it on his retreat. The explosion announced to Lanier the success of the enterprize.

The news of this disaster was received in the English

camp with consternation; William alone maintained his composure. Furnishing his batteries with two cannon, the only ones that had been saved from the enemy, and some guns brought from Waterford, he began his operations on the 27th of August, when a breach was made, and furiously stormed by 500 grenadiers. They were opposed with the greatest spirit, but at length made a temporary lodgment; the besieged then rallied and returned to the breach, which they defended in the most gallant manner. The women joined in the defence, encouraged the men, advanced before them, defied the besiegers, and assailed them with stones. After a struggle of three hours, William ordered a retreat to be sounded; immediately after he dismounted his batteries, and gradually withdrew his troops, unmolested by the garrison. Leaving the command of the army to Count Solmes and Ginckle, and committing the civil government to two Lords Justices, Lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby, with a blank in their commission to be filled with a third name, he embarked for England at Duncannon fort.

William
embarks for
England.

Whilst William laid siege to Limerick, the Earl of Marlborough had been detached from England with 5,000 men to effect the reduction of Cork and Kinsale. He was now reinforced by Ginckle, on whom the chief command had devolved in consequence of the departure of Count Solmes. He succeeded against both these towns, both of which surrendered in twenty-three days. Hitherto, Ginckle had kept his troops posted in different places about the Shannon. When William abandoned the siege of Limerick, Boileau withdrew with his French troops to Galway to join his countrymen, who were recalled, and waiting for transports to retire to France. The Irish were not displeased at losing their allies; a good under-

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standing never having subsisted between them. The natives felt displeased at the preference continually shown to the French officers, and being now left to the command of Sarsfield, a popular and distinguished leader, they threatened some desperate attempt; but on the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, Ginckle withdrew his troops into winter quarters.

The motions of the Irish army now indicated some movement of importance; a magazine of forage was provided at Athlone for 5,000 horse for ten days, and it soon appeared that an attack on the English garrison of Mullingar was intended: the garrison was accordingly reinforced, and Ginckle arriving at Mullingar with 2,000 foot, and 1,000 horse, advanced on the enemy, who were driven to the moat of Grenoge; here a skirmish took place, and the Irish were finally driven, with some loss, to Athlone.

A considerable difference of opinion prevailed in the Irish army, with respect to the line of conduct now to be pursued. Tyrconnel had returned from France, with no other aid than £8,000 and some clothing; he declared for moderate measures, and proposed to submit; on this account he was accused of treachery, and to this it was imputed, that when in France he had recommended officers, stores and provision to be sent to Ireland, without any troops. Sarsfield opposed the temporising counsels of Tyrconnel; and the officers who agreed with him in declaring for war, flattered their followers with hopes of assistance from France. Some French officers gradually arrived, and repeated the assurance of speedy succour.

At length M. St. Ruth landed at Limerick with a commission of commander-in-chief. Sarsfield was naturally highly indignant at this preference shown to a foreigner; nor was he reconciled to the appointment, by having the

title of Earl of Lucan conferred on him by James. St. Ruth not being supplied with the stores which the Irish had expected, he resolved on a defensive war, ordered the towns on the Irish side of the Shannon to be strengthened, and with the main body took up a position behind Athlone. Hearing of this movement, Ginckle assembled his army at Mullingar, being determined to open the campaign with the siege of Athlone. The fort of Ballymore, which was occupied by 1,000 men, surrendered, after sustaining the attack of Ginckle's army only for one day. After driving some of the enemy's infantry into the town, the English army commenced the siege. Athlone is divided by the Shannon into two parts, connected by a bridge; the besieged were soon driven from the eastern side, but as the western arch of the bridge was broken down, the assailants were unable to pass; the passage of the river was a matter of great difficulty—the ford between the two towns being deep, narrow and stony. Ginckle therefore formed a plan for passing the river at Lanesborough; but his design being discovered and prevented, in order to accomplish his purpose, he commenced the construction of a wooden work, by throwing planks over the broken arch at Athlone. This was no sooner completed, than a sergeant and ten men in armour, rushing from the opposite side, attempted to destroy it, but being all killed, another party repeated the desperate attempt, and succeeded, by throwing all the planks and beams into the river, two alone surviving to return in triumph.

Ginckle, being still determined to persevere, soon completed a close gallery on the broken arch; it was then resolved in a council of war to pass the Shannon at three different places; one party was to force the bridge, another to pass the ford below it, while a third was to

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The siege
of Athlone.

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cross the river higher up on floats. The enemy, however, discovering their design, reinforced the garrison from the camp, and the best of the Irish troops were drawn to the works. Still the besiegers determined to persevere, and all was anxiety on each side, when suddenly some grenadiers from the town; set fire to a parcel of fascines which lay on the bridge. The flames soon destroyed the gallery, which rendered it necessary to abandon that enterprise.

The town
taken.

Ginckle now summoned another council of war, in which it was determined to attempt the passage by the ford. This desperate design was put into execution on the next day with complete success; the Irish were driven from the town, and the castle soon after surrendered. When the first intelligence that the enemy was crossing the ford was conveyed to St. Ruth, he exclaimed, it was not possible they should attempt the town while he and his army lay near. Sarsfield gave it as his opinion, that the enterprise was not too difficult for English courage, and advised him to send speedy succours. The French general was offended, and an altercation ensued, which was only put an end to by the arrival of a messenger, who informed them that the enemy had already entered the town; when after a fruitless attempt to drive them out, St. Ruth retired.

Both parties were now equally anxious to bring the contest to a final issue, by some decisive action. Ginckle, before he advanced in search of the enemy, deemed it both necessary and just, to publish such a proclamation and encouragement to those who should submit, as might break the force of the enemy, and possibly prevent the necessity of an engagement. A material difference of opinion, however, had long existed between Ginckle, and

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some of the great English subjects of Ireland on this point. Their views were directed to the extermination of William's enemies, and not to their reconciliation to the government. Ginckle nevertheless published a proclamation of pardon, which the Lords-justices seemed at first inclined to disavow; but in two days after they themselves issued a proclamation, offering advantageous terms to all who should surrender in three weeks.

This proclamation, however, was published too late to be of much use. Though some sued for protection, and many laid down their arms, still St. Ruth collected a strong body from the different garrisons, and posting them advantageously, he resolved to await the approach of the enemy. Ginckle also strengthened his army, by withdrawing from the English posts all the troops that could be spared.

On the 10th of July, Ginckle marched from Athlone with 18,000 men, and encamped along the river Suc, in the county of Roscommon; the Irish, 25,000 strong, took their station to greater advantage, about three miles further to the south-west. Their camp extended more than two miles along the heights of Kilcommeden, with a rivulet on their left, which ran between hills and morasses, and was skirted by a large bog, on the edge of which the castle of Aughrim commanded the only pass on that side of their camp. In their front the bog extended about half a mile to the right, where another pass opened through a range of small hills into wider ground; the slope of Kilcommeden, intersected with hedges and ditches communicating with each other, was lined with musketeers.

The battle of
Aughrim.

St. Ruth seeing from his eminence the English cross the river, and preparing to give him battle, drew out his

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main army in front of his camp, and going in person from rank to rank, he excited them to the most courageous and valorous exertions.

On the 12th of July (the fogs of the morning being so dense as to prevent their earlier movement) the English army advanced at noon in as good order as the unevenness of the ground would admit. It was in the first place deemed necessary to gain the pass on the right of the enemy; but unfortunately a small party of Danes, who were sent for this purpose, fled instantly at the appearance of an inferior force. Some English dragoons were next employed, who, after an hour's obstinate contest, forced their way even to the other side of the bog. It was now debated, whether the battle should not be deferred till the next morning; the council, however, resolved upon an immediate engagement; by the advice of General Mackey, it was determined to begin the attack on the enemy's right wing. About the hour of five in the afternoon the left wing of the English advanced against the enemy, who obstinately maintained their posts, until the combatants on each side closed with each other; the English retiring by their lines of communication, flanked their assailants, and charged them with unabated vigour.

The engagement was thus continued for an hour and a half, when St. Ruth found it necessary to draw a considerable part of the cavalry from his left, to support his right wing. Mackey seized the favourable moment, and while the English cavalry were put in motion to gain the pass by Aughrim castle, which was thus left exposed, he ordered several regiments of infantry in the centre to march through the morass, which extended along his front, and to post themselves on the top of the lowest ditches, until his horse having gained the passage, should

wheel from the right to support the charge of the infantry. These plunging into the bog, instantly sunk to the middle; gaining the opposite side with difficulty, they received a fire from the hedges and trenches occupied by the enemy. They advanced, however, with intrepidity, the enemy at the same time retiring to draw them forward, until, forgetful of their orders, they pressed forward almost to the main body of the Irish; both horse and foot now poured down upon them, in front and flank, forced them from their ground with great slaughter, drove some of them back into the bog, and made several prisoners; while St. Ruth exclaimed in rapture, that he would drive the English to the very walls of Dublin.

His attention, however, was soon attracted to the English cavalry on the left, commanded by Tollemache, who seeing the alarming disorder of the centre, rushed with incredible ardour to their assistance and passed close by the walls of the castle, amidst the continued fire of the enemy. St. Ruth asked some of his officers 'What do these English mean?' he was answered, 'To force their way to our right; he exclaimed 'They are brave fellows! it is a pity they should be so exposed.' Through a narrow and dangerous pass, Mackey, Tollemache, and Rougviny, now gradually pressed forward from the right, bearing down all opposition, and giving the infantry of the centre an opportunity of rallying, and regaining their former ground; the left wing fought with great valour, and was opposed with equal intrepidity.

St. Ruth, now finding it necessary to make an impression on the enemy's cavalry in their rapid progress from the right, rode down from his station on the hill of Kilcommeden, and having ordered where the fire of one of his batteries should be directed, led a body of horse

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against the English; but while so gallantly conducting his enterprise, a cannon-ball deprived him of life. The intelligence of his death ran quickly through the lines; the cavalry halted, and being without orders, returned to their former station. The whole Irish army was now dismayed; Sarsfield, on whom the command devolved, had been neglected by St. Ruth since their altercation at Athlone; and the order of battle not having been communicated to him, was not able to follow up the plan of the late general. The English, in the mean time, pressing forward, drove the enemy to their camp, whence the latter, being still pursued, fled precipitately towards Loughrea.

In this battle, and bloody pursuit of three miles, seven thousand Irish were slain, while on the side of the conquerors only seven hundred were killed, and about a thousand wounded.

In a few days Ginckle led his troops to Galway; the garrison consisted of seven weak regiments, but reinforcements were expected; when, however, it was found that no assistance could be obtained, the townsmen and magistrates proposed to surrender; this was at first opposed by the garrison, but finding it impossible to hold out, they soon agreed to a treaty of capitulation. They were then allowed to march out with all the honours of war. A free pardon was granted to the inhabitants, with full possession of their estates and liberties under the acts of settlement. The Roman Catholic clergy and laity were allowed the private exercise of their religion, their lawyers were permitted to practice, and such as had estates were allowed to bear arms. The terms granted by this capitulation induced many, immediately after, to lay down their arms, and take the oath of allegiance to the king and queen.

Galway sur-
rendered.

The surrender of Galway was considered by many as an event, the immediate consequence of which must be the final reduction of Ireland. Yet the Irish under the command of Sarsfield, spoke with confidence of again meeting the enemy; Ginckle in the mean time, proceeded cautiously. Limerick, which he now approached, was notwithstanding the apparent resolution of the garrison, a scene of discord and jealousy. Tyrconnel was dead; three new Lords-justices, Fitton, Nagle, and Plowden, had assumed the government in the name of the abdicated king, and declared for submission; but Sarsfield, brave, violent, and enterprising, was averse to all accommodation. The French generals also, expecting succours from abroad, declared for war.

In the mean time, Ginckle strengthened his army by withdrawing from the towns every garrison that could be spared; he secured the passes of the Shannon; and his artillery was brought up under a strong escort, with every possible precaution. On the 25th day of August he advanced to the town, approaching it in the same manner as in the former siege. Perceiving that the only effectual means of reducing it was to invest it on all sides, he resolved to gain, if possible, the opposite side of the river; and to conceal his design, gave such orders as indicated an intention of raising the siege. The Irish saw with exultation his batteries dismounted, and, lulled into security, never suspected any danger, until seeing a bridge of tin boats which had been almost completed in the night, they found that a considerable body of forces had been conveyed into an island, between which and the main land the river was fordable.

Notwithstanding this success, it was debated whether the siege should be carried on, or converted into a blockade;

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The siege of
Limerick.

so great were the difficulties which still prevented the reduction of the town. In this situation, Ginckle issued a declaration, promising pardon and restitution of their estates to such of the garrison, and inhabitants of Limerick, as should submit within eight days. This declaration not being attended by any immediate result, Ginckle felt it difficult how to proceed ; at length it was resolved to lead another body of troops across the river. On the 22nd of September, Ginckle, with a considerable body of cavalry and infantry, animated with the intelligence of the reduction of Sligo by the Earl of Granard, marched over the bridge of boats. Their advanced guards were at first repulsed, but in the end they succeeded in driving back the besieged. The grenadiers, supported by four regiments, were ordered to assault the works which covered Thomond bridge. Here the contest was for some time desperately maintained, until, at length, the English routed and pursued the enemy. A French major, who commanded at the bridge, fearing the grenadiers would close with his own party, ordered the drawbridge to be raised, and thus left the fugitives to the mercy of their pursuers.

Capitulation
of Limerick.

On the 23rd of September, after the garrison had for many hours kept up an incessant fire, they beat a parley. The besiegers granted a truce, to continue for three days, to give time for their horse, now encamped at some distance, to take advantage of the projected capitulation. On the last day of the truce, the Irish leaders proposed the terms on which they offered to capitulate. They required an act of indemnity for all past offences, with full enjoyment of the estates they had formerly possessed ; freedom for the Roman Catholic worship, and an establishment of one Romish ecclesiastic in each parish. They demanded, that Roman Catholics should be declared fully qualified for

every office, civil and military ; that they should be admitted into all corporations ; and that the Irish army, if willing to serve, should be kept up, and paid in the same manner as the king's other troops. Ginckle refused to grant these terms, and gave orders that new batteries should be raised. By a second deputation, he was desired to propose such terms on his part, as he could grant. He consented that all Irish Roman Catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion, as in the reign of Charles II, and promised that their majesties should endeavour to procure them further security in this particular, when a parliament could be convened. He engaged that all included in the capitulation should enjoy their estates, and pursue their employments freely, as in the reign of the same king Charles ; that their gentry should be allowed the use of arms, and that no oath should be required of any except that of allegiance. The garrison readily accepted these concessions as the basis of a treaty. On the first day of October the Lords Justices arrived in the camp. On the third, the capitulation was adjusted and signed ; the civil articles by the chief governors, Porter and Coningsby, and the military, by the English general. Wherein last it was stipulated, that every facility should be afforded to such of the Irish troops as wished to enter into foreign service, and accordingly 14,000 of them departed for the continent.

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The Articles
of Capitulation.

The war was now concluded, the contest for power finally decided in Ireland, and the authority of the crown of England established—leaving at the same time the church in a deplorable state of destitution.

The war
concluded.

CHAPTER XX.

NEW TROUBLES ASSAIL THE CHURCH—ARCHBISHOP KING'S LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY—PRIMATE BOULTER'S LETTERS—THE TYTHE OF AGISTMENT—THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1735—THE EVILS RESULTING FROM THESE RESOLUTIONS—PLURALITIES AND UNIONS—THE SCENES ACTED IN 1735, NEARLY SIMILAR TO THOSE IN 1836—AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE SECULARITIES OF THE CHURCH—THE GREAT REVIVAL IN THE CHURCH—THE CHURCH TEMPORALITIES BILL.

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New troubles
assail the
Church.

THE church in Ireland had scarcely time for repose, after the war of the revolution, when new troubles assailed her from an opposite and unexpected quarter. The years 1717 and 1718 are memorable, as the commencement of a practice, which has operated most injuriously, in different ways, and with powerful effect, on the religion and church of Ireland, from that day to the present hour. Hundreds of Protestant families about this period departed from the northern parts of the kingdom, for the West Indies, Cape Breton, and other countries of North America, for the purpose of seeking more eligible settlements in those remote regions.

Archbishop
King's letter.

Archbishop King, in a letter dated June 2, 1719, explains to the Archbishop of Canterbury the real motives,

which induced the Irish Protestants in such numbers to leave the kingdom, and transplant themselves to the other side of the Atlantic. ‘The truth of the case is this; after the revolution, most of the kingdom was waste, and abundance of people destroyed by the war. The landlords therefore, were glad to get tenants at any rate, and let their lands at very easy rents. This invited abundance of people to come over here from Scotland, and they have lived here very happily ever since; but now their leases are expired, and they are obliged not only to give what was paid before the Revolution, but in most places treble, so that it is impossible for people to live, or subsist on their farms.

‘The landlords set up their farms to be disposed of *by cant*, and the Papists, who live in a miserable and sordid manner, will always outbid the Protestants; nor are they much solicitous, whether they pay the rents covenanted or no. The business is to put out the Protestants, and when that is done, they get into arrears with the landlord, a year or two, and then run away. Many have been thus served, and yet it will not teach others wisdom. By these means most of the farms of Ireland are got into their hands, and as leases expire, it is probable, the rest will go the same way. This is that which forces Protestants of all sorts out of this kingdom; not only farmers, but artificers, since they can have no prospect of living with any comfort in it.

‘By the act against popery, that hinders papists to purchase lands, they have turned themselves entirely to trade; and most of the trades of the kingdom are engrossed by them, and by this covetousness of the landlords, they will get possession of the lands, and how the Protestants will secure themselves, or England secure Ire-

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Primate
Boulter's
letters.

land, when all the commonalty are all papists, is surely worth consideration.*

I would now advert to what Primate Boulter says on the same subject. His letters embrace a period of time, from 1724 to 1739, during which from the almost constant absence of the Lord Lieutenaut, he acted as one of the Lords Justices, and in that capacity, corresponded with various members of the British government. Writing to the

* 'A just estimate would state, (says Mr. O'Connell in his Memoir) that the Catholics went into the persecution, (that is the penal laws in 1692) about two millions in number. The Protestant persecutors, for at that day, they were all persecutors, were one million. The Catholics have increased to nearly seven millions; the Protestants still scarcely exceed the original million. The comparative increase of the one under persecution is enormous. The comparative decrease of the other, whilst persecuting, is astonishing; in the first instance, the Catholics were at the utmost only two to one,—in the second, they are near seven to one.'—(p. 48, '49.)

In 1672, just twenty years before the commencement of the penal laws in 1692, the population of Ireland, according to Sir William Petty, the best authority of the day, was *one million one hundred thousand*, not *three millions* as Mr. O'Connell states; of which three hundred thousand were Protestant, not one million, and the Romanists *eight hundred thousand*, not two millions, as he has stated. In the twenty years intervening between the years 1672 and 1692, the bloody wars of the Revolution must have reduced the number very considerably. The encouragement of early and pauper marriages by the Romish priesthood, and the enormous drain occasioned by the emigration of the Protestant population for upwards of one hundred and twenty years, have as a necessary consequence increased the one and diminished the other. The present population of Ireland is *eight millions*, two millions being Protestants and six Romanists, and of these (the produce of pauper marriages), Mr. O'Connell assures us, 'there are two millions, three hundred thousand individuals, dependent for subsistence on casual charity.'—(p. 89.)

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Archbishop of Canterbury, he says, ‘A great part of our clergy have no parsonage-houses, or glebes to build them on. We have many parishes eight and ten, twelve and fourteen miles long, with perhaps only one church in them, and that often at the end of the parish. We have few market towns, that supply convenient food, nor farmers that can supply the common necessities of life without a moderate glebe, and there can be no hopes of getting ground of the papists without more churches, and more resident clergymen.’ ‘In many parts by means of impropriations, there are vicarages or curacies, worth but five or ten pounds per annum, so that in several places, the Bishop lets the same person enjoy three or four, on to seven or eight of these, which possibly all together make up sixty, eighty, or one hundred pounds per annum, and there is, it may be, but one or two churches on all the denominations, which is the name we give these parishes.’ Again, writing to the Duke of Newcastle, he repeats, ‘until we can get more churches, and resident clergy, instead of getting ground of the papists, we must lose to them, as in fact we do in many places, *the descendants of many of Cromwell’s officers and soldiers being gone off to popery.*’ *

* There seems to be a fatality attending all the acts of the British government respecting Ireland. For many years previous to 1793, the Romanists were leaving their church in considerable numbers, particularly in the south of Ireland; and if the process had continued for some years longer, a great proportion of the inhabitants would have become Protestants, and all this I believe for the sole purpose of enjoying the privileges which were then confined exclusively to Protestants.

This system had been carried to such an extent, that Archbishop Boulter expressed great alarm at the number of pseudo Protestants

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We have now arrived at that period of our church's history, in which the Irish landed proprietors, the immediate descendants of Cromwellian and Williamite dissenters, disliking the church of England little less than that of Rome, conspired to exempt all their grass lands from

who were employed in different situations in the state in his day ; and a bill was actually passed, 'to disable any one who had not professed that religion for five years, from acting as a barrister or solicitor.' 'The practice of the law from top to bottom, is almost wholly in the hands of these converts.'—(Letters i. p. 226.) But the moment the bill of 1793 passed into a law, granting the elective franchise to the Romanists, the conversions almost entirely ceased.

But some may very naturally object to all this and say, such conversions were not to be trusted, no dependance can be placed on them ; this may in many respects be true, but I know from my own experience, that many of the best men in the south of Ireland at this moment, are the descendants of these very converts. This measure was also highly injurious to the Protestant population. There had been, as before mentioned, for a considerable time before this period, an annual emigration of them from the kingdom, which was increased tenfold afterwards, as the landlords could now procure Romish voters at a cheaper rate than they formerly did, when Protestants alone possessed the elective franchise, never dreaming, though forcibly warned by the late Earl of Rosse, that the time would come, when these men would turn against their landlords, and vote with the Romish party.

Again, a few years previous to the fatal act of 1829, the whole country was in motion towards Protestantism. In many places flourishing congregations of converted Romanists had been formed. The usual mode of agitation was resorted to, partly to divert the minds of the people from better things, and partly for promoting the ultimatum of Romanism, separation. The consequence was, that a more extensive measure of emancipation than was ever thought of before, was granted to the Romanists.

Of course the work of conversion was again for a short period arrested in its progress ; and now the same agitation, with greater power than ever, is carried on, nominally for the repeal of the

tythe, and succeeded in the attempt, through the celebrated vote of the Irish House of Commons against the tythe of agistment, and by that vote (professedly adopted for the benefit of the Protestant interest, and compared with which the passive resistance of modern days is of trivial criminality), they literally abolished tythes in three fourths at least of Ireland, and threw the clergy for support upon the oats and potatoes of the pauper farmers.

‘It is a remarkable circumstance, that in the year 1733, a virtual suspension of the last act had taken place, in favour of the dissenters, and in the very next year, the Irish House of Commons, by way of offering first-fruits for this indulgence, passed the agistment vote against tythe of pasture for dry cattle, voting in fact, that two thirds of the maintenance of the established church should not henceforth be demanded. The difference of course, being added, like the spoliation of our day, to the rent of the landlords.’ And it is equally remarkable, that in the year 1829, the relief bill (falsely so called) was passed in

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The tythe of
agistment.

See Liber
Munorum
Public
Hiberniæ,
Vol. i. p. 105.

union, but in reality to arrest the progress of the Reformation,¹ and to put a stop to the tariff now in many places in operation, in order to limit the exorbitant fees of the priests. The partial conduct of the present government in sacrificing the best interest of the country, in the vain hope of allaying agitation, is beginning to produce a new combination, which will call the attention of every reflecting man in the country, to the observation of Archbishop King on a former occasion, with a very slight alteration. ‘How the landed proprietors can secure themselves, or England secure Ireland, when all the commonalty are *all repealers*, is surely worth consideration?’

¹ See the Rev. Thomas Moriarty’s statement of the persecution at Dingle.—Ap. iii.

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The resolutions of the
Irish House
of Commons.

favour of the Roman Catholics ; and in the year 1831, the passive resistance system commenced, which reduced a great proportion of the clergy of the church of Ireland to the greatest possible destitution.

It may not be uninteresting to some of our readers, to furnish here the details of the celebrated resolutions of the Irish House of Commons in 1735, whereby they inflicted a wound not yet healed, on the country ; and by which they (one of the fountains of law and justice) crowned that system of plunder, which Wentworth so truly characterizes as national, though not peculiar to Ireland.*

* It may be necessary to give an account of the proceedings, which occasioned all the evils here mentioned. On the fifth of March, 1735, the petition of Samuel Low, and many others, from different parts of Ireland, complaining, that the clergy had commenced suits for a new kind of tythe, under the name of agistment, for dry and barren cattle, being read, it was '*ordered*, that a committee be appointed to examine the allegations thereof, to meet to-morrow morning at nine o'clock ; five to be a committee, and that all members who come have voices.'

Report from the Committee on the petition of Samuel Low and others, in behalf of themselves, and the rest of the gentlemen, landholders in this kingdom, concerning agistment tythe, and the prosecutions instituted by the clergy thereon, March 18, 1735. Then the House, according to order, resumed the adjourned consideration of the report of the committee appointed to take into consideration the petition of Samuel Low and others, (whose names are thereunto subscribed) in behalf of themselves and the rest of the gentlemen and landholders in this kingdom, and the rest of the report and resolutions were read as follows :—

Resolved—'That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the petitioners have fully proved the allegations of their petition, to the satisfaction of the Committee, and deserve the strongest assistance the house can give them. To which resolution, the question being put, the House did agree.

Resolved—'That the allotments, glebes, and known tythes, with

Boulter's Bill, passed in 1728, proves that pasture was so universally prevalent in Ireland, as to render it a desirable object to enforce the tillage of every twentieth acre, and from such an enactment, it may fairly be inferred, that at the time, not more than every fiftieth acre was actually tilled. Under such circumstances, the Irish

other ecclesiastical emoluments, ascertained before this new demand of tythe of agistment for dry and barren cattle, are an honourable and plentiful provision for the clergy of this kingdom.

Resolved—'That the demand of tythe agistment for dry and barren cattle is new, grievous, and burdensome to the landlords and tenants of the kingdom, who could have no notice thereof previous to their purchases and leases, nor the least apprehensions that such unforeseen demands could have been claimed.'

A motion being made, and the question put, 'that the commencing suits upon these new demands, *must impair the Protestant interest*, by driving many useful hands out of the kingdom; must disable those that remain to support his Majesty's establishment, and occasion popery and infidelity to gain ground, by the contest that must naturally arise between the laity and clergy.'

Noes 50, Ayes 110. It was carried in the affirmative. Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Cope and Mr. Dawson. Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rochfort.

Resolved further—'That all legal ways and means ought to be made use of, to oppose all attempts that shall hereafter be framed to carry demands of tythe agistment into execution, *until a proper remedy* can be provided by the legislature.'

To devise that 'proper remedy,' gave the Irish House of Commons no further trouble, until the day of its own extinction came, when, through fear of retributive justice from an imperial parliament, they insisted on a legal abolition of a right, which their predecessors had for sixty-five years illegally destroyed, before they would consent to a final surrender of their legislative functions. The progress of the act of union was delayed until the Irish minister was, however reluctantly, compelled to introduce a Bill for abolishing a tythe long defunct.

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The evils resulting from this resolution.

House of Commons, abolished tythe of pasture, that is, they exempted ninety-six acres at least out of every hundred, from contributing to the support of the clergy. The fatal effects resulting from this measure was, that it encouraged pasture, and discouraged tillage, but above all it relieved the rich Protestant landlords and graziers, while it threw the burden of supporting the church upon the poor Roman Catholic farmers and cottiers, and as a natural consequence, this measure so impoverished the benefices of the clergy, as to compel the government, and the bishops, in order to relieve them, to aggravate an old evil, arising from the poverty and plunder of the church, viz., to unite several parishes, and to diminish the number of the working clergy, in order to afford a decent competence to the remainder.*

* The two great master evils of the church in Ireland, have been pluralities and unions. The latter abuse however, has been greatly magnified of late years, and nothing has so much tended to mislead the public mind on this subject, as the early Editions of the Irish Ecclesiastical Register, published under the sanction of the bishops of Ireland, by John Callard Erck, Esq., now one of the *paid* Commissioners of the Ecclesiastical Board.

In that unfortunate publication, there are many unions inserted, composed of from six to ten parishes, when in fact these denominations called parishes, are in some cases nothing more than small portions of land, originally belonging to the numerous monastic institutions, that were so common in the ancient Irish church, in consequence of its eastern origin. In some cases these lands are tythe-free; in others, they are not known to exist in the part of the country, where the union is situated; and in others, they are small vicarages, averaging from five to twenty pounds per annum.

The evil effects resulting from this work, were soon manifested in the two houses of parliament. When any radical or whig member wished to make an attack on the church, it was only necessary for

But besides these resolutions of the Irish House of Commons, in 1735, 'there were some other votes, (says Primate Boulter) ready to pass; one particularly to fall on the Barons of the Exchequer, which, though they were

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him to open the Ecclesiastical Register, and read an extract from a document published under the sanction of the Bench of Bishops. There was no contradicting this, and English members naturally regarding a parish, as a parish, concluded, that the income arising from such an union must be enormous, when in fact the income of the entire, frequently did not exceed three or four hundred pounds per annum; and all this occurred at a period, when the church had not a member in the lower house, who cared for, or knew anything of the matter: the two Ecclesiastical Boroughs, the College and Armagh, being filled, one by a liberal, and the other by a young man, totally ignorant on the subject.

The system of pluralities was also carried on to a great extent in Ireland. The bishops in many cases considering their patronage as much their own property as the temporalities of their sees; consequently nepotism abounded to a great extent in most of the dioceses. The three last primates have, however, been honourable exceptions to this practice, and the present one, greatly to his credit and reputation, has, as far in him lies, put a stop to this system, by refusing to grant faculties in any case whatsoever. The declaration of the late Bishop of Cashel, Doctor Sandes, is also worthy of being recorded, who, in answer to an attack made on him, with respect to his patronage, replied, 'I hold my patronage in trust for the good of the congregations, and not of individuals,' which declaration he conscientiously adhered to.

The church had been for many years gradually righting itself, when the reform mania commenced, and a sacrifice was demanded to appease the growing spirit of popish domination. No person unacquainted with church matters, can form an adequate idea of the extent of the loss sustained by the church temporalities bill, in direct violation, as it would seem, of the coronation oath, and the act of union between the two countries. The temporalities of sixteen (one half of our thirty-two) bishopricks, and one deanery, with a considerable proportion of the temporalities of Armagh and

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stopped by some of that house, that were wiser, yet seem to have intimidated that court, almost as much as if they had passed.'

How very singular it must appear, that in the year

Derry, and lesser portions of almost all the others, with a percentage on the property still reserved to the remaining bishops, was the first instalment made to satisfy the enemies of the church. The suppressed bishopricks were Clogher, (the most Protestant diocese in Ireland), Raphoe, Elphin, Ardagh, Dromore, Killalla, Achonry, Clonfert, Kilmacduagh, Kildare, Ferns, Leighlin, Waterford, Lismore, Cork, and Ross, with the deanery of Christ Church. The bishops that remain are Armagh, Meath, Derry, Down, Connor, Kilmore, Tuam, (the only resident bishop now in the entire province of Connaught,) Dublin, Ossory, Cashel, Emly, Limerick, Ardfert, Cloyne, Killaloe, and Kilfenora.

But this is not all, the property of the reserved bishops, deans, &c., is no longer their own, they have merely a rent-charge on it. Any tenant may now take out a lease in perpetuity, from the ecclesiastical commissioners, with or without the consent of the incumbent, by adding the renewal fines to the rent.

A few years ago, a tenant applied for a perpetuity of a farm, which he held under a deanery lease. The dean considering that his consent was necessary, instantly gave it. Some months after, the dean applied to his tenant to know if he had done any thing more in the business. The reply was, that the thing was all settled. This is impossible said the dean, for I have neither signed the lease, nor received a duplicate of it. He was then informed, that his signature was not necessary, and the duplicate was not to be lodged with him, but with the board, and that even his consent to the transaction was not of any consequence. This is indeed *the fixity of tenure principle* carried out to perfection.

As we descend to the second order of the clergy, we find every living of upwards of three hundred pounds per annum, taxed in proportion to its value, and in addition to this, and in open defiance of all vested rights, the fourth part of the tythe income of every clergyman, has been wrested from him by act of parliament. Another instalment has been made, since the passing of this act of three

1836, after a lapse of a century, scenes nearly similar, should be re-acted in Ireland, though by very different personages; and that in the imperial parliament, similar censures should have been threatened against the Barons

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more deaneries, Lismore, Dromore, and Kildare, with a number of prebendaries, sinecures, &c. &c. Thus the entire property of the church is fast merging into the hands of the ecclesiastical commissioners, ready on any future occasion to be transferred, (should such present itself,) by a radical ministry into the hands of the highest political bidder. And to what a miserable condition has the Irish Church, formerly distinguished from all the other western churches, by the multiplicity of her bishops, been now reduced; two, three, and sometimes four bishoprics are now heaped on the head of one individual, whilst from the great reduction of the incomes of the clergy, the old ruinous system of pluralities has been in a degree resorted to, the patrons in some instances declining to appoint, on a parish becoming vacant, by the incumbent's removal to another, in order to secure a sufficient income by leaving both parishes in his hands.

If the noble example of Bishop Bedell, with respect to pluralities, had been followed generally in the church, we might have been in all probability saved from our present distress: 'The manner in which Bishop Bedell proceeded in this business was exceedingly temperate, and wise, and its result was great and unexpected success. He called his clergy together, and affectionately addressed them from the pulpit, on the subject,—he laid before them out of scripture, the antiquity and institution, the nature and duties of the ministry of the gospel of Christ. After the sermon he addressed them in Latin, as his brethren and fellow-presbyters; and not appearing to assume the least civil pre-eminence over them, he exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuse, which, as it brought a heavy scandal upon the church, and gave their adversaries great advantages against them, so it must very much endanger their own souls, and the souls of their flocks.' He then afforded them the example, by resigning the bishoprick of Ardagh to Dr. Richardson. All his clergy, with only one exception, when thus appealed to, answered and said with a loud voice, 'As thou hast said, so must

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of the Exchequer, though we rejoice to state, with results very different.

The Antitythers of 1735, were the Protestant nobility and gentry, who were permitted by a feeble government to violate the law, and to intimidate the Court of Exchequer from a conscientious discharge of its duty. The antitythers of 1836, were the Roman Catholic demagogues and people, resisted also by a feeble government, in their lawless and active efforts to enforce 'a passive resistance' to legal rights; furnishing at the same time the truly singular and ominous spectacle, of the King's Court of Exchequer, assailed for its efficient protection of those rights, by the servants of the antitythers on the one hand, and by the *servants of the crown* on the other.*

A pamphlet published in the year 1746, a few years after the passing of the foregoing resolution of the House of Commons, gives the following account of the landlords of that day;—the same men, it will be observed, who plundered the clergy for the good of the church.

'Popish tenants are daily preferred, and Protestants rejected, either for the sake of swelling the rental, or adding some mean duties, which Protestants will not submit to; but the greatest mischief in this way, is done by a class of men, whom I will call *land-jobbers*. Land-jobbers have introduced for farmers, the lowest sort of papists, who were employed formerly as labourers, while

we do,' and freely and unanimously relinquished their pluralities. This person was the dean, Dr. Bernard who was so ashamed of his conduct afterwards, that, unwilling to continue in the diocese, exchanged his deanery for one in another diocese.'—(Mason's *Life of Bedell*, page 176.)

* Cause of the failure of the Reformation in Ireland, by William Harty, M.D. of the city of Dublin.

this was occupied by substantial Protestants; but since potatoes have grown so much in credit, and burning the ground has become so fashionable, (a manure so easily and readily acquired) these cottagers, who set no value on their labour, scorn to be servants longer, but fancy themselves in the degree of masters, as soon as they can accomplish the planting an acre of potatoes.

‘One of this description not being able singly to occupy any considerable quantity of ground, twelve or twenty of them, and sometimes more, cast their eyes on a plowland occupied by many industrious Protestants, who, from a common ancestor placed there perhaps a hundred years before, have swarmed into many stocks, built houses, made various improvements, and nursed the land, in expectation of being favoured by their landlord in a new lease. These cottagers seeing the flourishing condition of this colony, the warm plight of the houses, but especially the strong sod of the earth, made so, by various composts collected with much toil and care, and which secures to them a long continuance of their beloved destructive manure, made by burning the green sward, engage some neighbour to take this plowland, and all jointly bind themselves to become under-tenants to the land-jobber, and to pay him an immoderate rent.

‘This encourages him to outbid the unhappy Protestants, and the great advance of rent tempts the avaricious and ill-judging landlord, to accept his proposal. The Protestants being thus driven out of their settlements, transport themselves, their families and effects to America; there to meet a more hospitable reception amongst strangers to their persons, but friends to their religion and civil principles. Notwithstanding this dismal relation of the evil consequences of so mean a traffic, (for the truth of

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which I appeal to all who know the condition of the country,) the present profit is so sweet, that many proprietors grudge the land-jobber his fag-rent, and are grown so cunning, that they set the land originally to the mean cottagers, and so take the whole price for a season; not once reflecting that their sons will not have by this ruinous practice, an estate so valuable, as that they received from their fathers.

‘Some endeavour to excuse themselves by saying, that Protestant tenants cannot be had. They may thank themselves, if that be true; for they have helped to banish them, by not receiving them when they might. But it is to be hoped, we are not yet so distressed. Those who have the reputation of good landlords, and encouragers of Protestants, never want them; BUT THERE IS A PROTESTANT PRICE, AND A POPISH PRICE FOR LAND; and he who will have valuable Protestants on his estate, must depart from his Popish price. Hence, I fear the matter will stick. It will be as hard to persuade a gentleman to fall from one thousand pounds a year to eight hundred, as it was to prevail on the lawyer in the gospel, to sell all and save his soul.’

We are now arrived at that period in the history of the Reformed Irish Church, in which it can be said for the first time, that anything like an adequate provision was made for her ministers. In consequence of the American war, the increasing agriculture of the country, enabled them to assume the appearance of professional men, and to occupy that station which fitted them to minister with effect to the temporal and spiritual wants of the people; nor do we hesitate to affirm, that their sphere of usefulness increased with the means provided for their existence, as an ecclesiastical body.

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It is true indeed, that after the many struggles, which at different periods, the Irish church was destined to sustain, and which have been^e briefly adverted to in the foregoing pages, that recovering from temporal pressure, she appeared, like the Jewish church of old, to forget for a season, the hand that fed her, and to settle down in a cold quiescent enjoyment of her increasing prosperity. It is however the pleasing task of one, who has been feebly endeavouring to rescue^r her from much unmerited obloquy, to assert, that the remarkable revival of religion which has taken place in the Established Church in Ireland, within the^e last forty years, (a revival unparalleled, we believe it may be said, in Church History) did not take place in consequence of external pressure, but when she was in the fullest enjoyment^r of her temporal blessings, and long before the war-cry was raised either against her property, or her^r clergy: and it^r is the undoubted conviction of those best qualified to judge,^r that this cry would never have been heard, had she remained basking in the sunshine of earthly prosperity,—exhibiting^r at the^r same time the marks of spiritual declension.

But when it pleased God to awaken many of her ministers from a state of supineness and inaction; and in accordance with their solemn ordination vows to ‘be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God’s word;’—when not only the members of their own flocks became objects of their spiritual solicitude, but the ignorant and superstitious population around them;—when scriptural schools were opened in their respective parishes, and above all, when the Irish tongue was made use of in many districts as the vehicle of religious instruction; *then, and not till then*, was it discovered, that her

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wealth was the cause of all the failure that had attended her former ministrations, as well as the fruitful source of multiplied present evils: presenting the anomalous spectacle of a richly-endowed church, in the midst of a depressed and pauper population.

I hope to have the pleasing task, if it be the will of God, to trace (in a second volume, of "Ireland and her Church in the nineteenth century," now preparing for the press,) more minutely the progress of the Irish Church, since its revival; and I hope to be able then exactly to ascertain what number of churches, glebe and school-houses, have been built since the commencement of this century, and other important facts illustrative of the self-denying zeal of the Irish clergy.

When this is done, we may hope that many of her English opposers, who have been led by false accusations, to 'take up a taunting proverb against her,' (some of whom we doubt not were honest in their opposition,) may speedily retrace their steps, and rally round a church, whose claims to British sympathy and support, stand upon a basis, broad as the constitution of England itself; and which, if overlooked, will involve in ruin, the best and highest interests of the empire.

In Ireland, cursed as it is, by the absenteeism of many of its *reforming* landlords, where could the distressed and helpless have found assistance, had not the clergy formed a kind of middle aristocracy in the country? The parsonages in Ireland, it must be allowed, (our enemies themselves being judges), have ever been the refuge of the poor, and where the cry of want has found its readiest access.

It has indeed pleased God to permit the spoiler to come into his vineyard, and to his all-wise permissive providence

it is to be hoped the Irish clergy will cheerfully submit. One-fourth of their income in tythe has been already forcibly taken from them, and further reductions may be made, as *good faith* does not seem particularly to mark the measures of our government. But let the Roman Catholics of Ireland remember, that in all such reductions they themselves will be sufferers, we doubt not, in full proportion to those so deprived of their incomes; and were it lawful to wish evil to our enemies, perhaps we could wish no greater evil to fall on them, than to see the tythes of the established church transferred to the hands of their own clergy.

Some well-disposed persons often express sentiments on this subject, which though piously intended, shew great want of reflection and common sense. They affirm, that as the promises of God are made absolutely to his church, and that as the gates of hell cannot prevail against it; therefore men who believe this, should feel no uneasiness regarding its temporal concerns, and should not mingle themselves up in any effort to preserve its revenues unimpaired.

Now though it is allowed in the most unreserved manner, that the promises of God must stand, "that they are all yea and amen in Christ Jesus;" yet as He works by means, and has no where promised to any particular country a perpetuity of the light of the gospel; we do maintain that it is the bounden duty of every man, who feels the maintenance of the established church, to be intimately connected with the well-being of Ireland, to make every effort, that prudence and wisdom can suggest, to preserve that church in its temporal, as well as spiritual rights to the people.

If the maintenance of the clergy be further reduced,

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one consequence must follow. An inferior order of clergy will occupy our churches. Men will not go to the expence of a suitable education for their sons, to place them in a church where no decent support can be expected, and where from their habits and feelings they would be unfitted to bear the pressure and many evils of poverty ; and thus the higher grades of society at all events would be left destitute of teachers to whom they could look up with respect, and with whom they could feel the sympathies common to each, and which they have hitherto experienced in intercourse with their ministers.

To enter more fully into the evils likely to result from the oppression of the clergy, and deprivation of their incomes, is, the writer thinks, unnecessary ; all that remains is to reply to an objection that may be taken against this work, namely, ‘that every evil that has been felt, respecting the Irish church, has been traced to privation of income, either at early or late periods of her history ; so that to secure her usefulness nothing would seem to be necessary but to bestow on her suitable church revenues.’ But most earnestly would the writer deprecate such a conclusion.

In truth and simplicity, he has stated facts as he could collect them, to rectify mis-statements and assertions, that have been made regarding her temporalities and their abuse. But most fully would he state it, as his deliberate belief, that no revenues however great, no clergy however learned, no external means however various, or apparently efficient, can accomplish the great work of enlightening an ignorant, or ameliorating the condition of a poor population, except so far as God himself, by his directing and quickening Spirit, shall be pleased to bless them. Much, very much, no doubt, has been amiss among ourselves ;

and though the church in Ireland stands deservedly high, yet individually and collectively before God, must we not say, "to us belongeth shame and confusion of face." CENTURY
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Let it however be evident that our 'bishops and curates' are united in mind and in purpose, holding fast the pure unadulterated doctrines of the Reformation, and maintaining with firmness her claims as a catholic and apostolic church, on the dutiful affections and cordial acceptance of the people. Let it be seen that our late chastenings, have been the means in God's hands of awakening a spirit of deeper piety, and calling forth new energies into the work of the ministry, and that whilst we seek to be consistent *churchmen*, we do not arrogantly despise those who conscientiously differ from us; endeavouring to exercise that candour towards others, which we claim for ourselves. "Let these things be in us and abound," and then indeed we may conclude, that all the efforts of our enemies will be unavailing, and that we shall occupy a vantage-ground, from which we can view with calm and holy composure, the many evils that may threaten our temporal existence, —feeling assured it is but "the wind and storm fulfilling His word."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

EDUCATION OF THE POOR IN IRELAND.

WE, the undersigned Prelates of the United Church of England and Ireland, have judged it to be our duty, upon some former occasions, to address those members of the Church who are directly committed to our care and government, and all others who are disposed to look to us for counsel and support, concerning the question of the Education of the Poor in Ireland. And as there are various particulars in the actual state of that question, which appear to make a similar address from us peculiarly needful at the present time, we proceed once more to the discharge of this anxious, and in some respects painful, though, as we cannot but feel, clear and most important duty, in humble reliance upon the guidance and blessing of Almighty God.

Upon the former occasions to which we have referred, we felt constrained to make known the very unfavourable judgment, which we had formed of the National System of Education for this country,—distinctly declaring that we could not approve of it, or assist in the management of it, or recommend to the Patrons or Superintendents of Schools that they should place them in connexion with it.

It was with much reluctance and regret that we felt ourselves obliged to declare so decidedly and publicly against a plan of education established and maintained by the State, to which we owe, and are ready to render, all duty not interfering with that which we owe to God. But

this higher duty compelled us to express thus plainly and strongly our disapprobation and distrust of this system ; and we lament that it does not now permit us to retract, or to soften, those declarations of our opinion. We consider it to be the more necessary to state this explicitly, because it is conceived by some persons that certain modifications of its rules, from time to time introduced by the Commissioners of National Education, have done much to remove the objections, on which it has been from the beginning opposed and rejected by the greater portion of the Members of the Established Church. And as we are unable to form the same opinion of these changes, we deem it our duty to obviate the misapprehension to which our silence might give rise, by stating distinctly, that we cannot discern in them any sufficient reasons for withdrawing or qualifying the condemnation, which we have deliberately and repeatedly pronounced.

When the Government first announced its determination that this system should supersede those to which the State had before given support, it was very generally opposed by the Clergy and the Laity of our Church. The grounds on which this opposition was made to rest were various. The undue prominence given to secular, to the depreciation of religious instruction—the disregard shown to the position and claims of the Clergy of the Established Church, tending to throw the direction of National Education into the hands of the priesthood of the Church of Rome,—and other defects and evils, both of the system itself and of the machinery by which it was to be worked, were urged as grave objections against the proposed plan of Education. While its opponents differed as to the importance which was to be assigned to some of these objections, there was one, upon the paramount importance of which all were agreed. The rule by which the Holy Scriptures were to be excluded from the Schools during the hours of general instruction, was treated by all as so fundamentally objectionable, that while this should continue to be the principle of the system, they could not conscientiously connect their Schools with it, even though all the other grounds of opposition were taken away.

In the former Societies for the Education of the Poor, with which the Clergy were connected, they had, in accommodation to the unhappy divisions of this country, consented to forbear from any attempt to teach the Formularies of our Church to the children of Dissenters, Protestant or Roman Catholic, who attended the Schools of which they had the superintendence. But they did not judge themselves at liberty so to deal with the Word of God. There was in every School a Bible-class, and in every School to read the Bible was a part of the daily business : and all the children in attendance, of whatever religious communion, took their places in this class, as soon as their

proficiency enabled them to profit by the reading of the Holy Scriptures. But the distinction of the New System was, that it placed the Bible under the same rule with books of peculiar instruction in religion, and excluded it, with them, from the hours of general education. And moreover, this great change was, avowedly, made as a concession to the unlawful authority by which the Church of Rome withholds the Holy Scriptures from its members.

It should not have been expected that the Clergy of our Church, who are bound by obligations so sacred to resist the spiritual tyranny and to oppose the errors of the Church of Rome, would join in a system of Education, of which the distinctive claim to acceptance and support was the aid which it gave to one of the most violent exercises of this tyranny—that which is in fact the strength and protection of its worst errors. It was not merely a question of the amount of good which was to be done by retaining the Bible in its proper place in the Education of the Poor ;—though it would have been painful to give up this means of doing so much good to the Roman Catholic children, to whom, (commended as they are in so many ways to their sympathies,) the Clergy, in general, have the power of doing so little ; but there was a still graver question of the amount of evil which would result from the change, and the part which the Clergy were to take in effecting it. The principle of “the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures,” as it is maintained by our Church, is a fundamental principle of the most momentous importance. It is by means of it that truth has been guarded and handed down to us by those who have gone before us. And it is by means of it we are to preserve this deposit of truth, and to defend, and transmit it, pure and unmutated, to those who are to come after us. While, on the other hand, it is by rejecting this principle that the Church of Rome is able to retain and to defend its errors, its superstitions, and its usurpations. It is well known that our Church exacts from all its Ministers an express declaration of their belief of this great doctrine, and a solemn promise that they will regulate their ministrations in conformity with it. And the steady maintenance of it is still further bound upon our Clergy, when they are, by God’s Providence, placed in circumstances in which they have to carry on a continual contest for the truth,—not merely for the deliverance of those who are in error, but for the preservation of those who are more immediately committed to their care,—and in which it is plain that their prospect of success in either object depends altogether upon their adherence to this principle, and that when it is in any degree allowed to become obscure or doubtful, in the same degree the cause of truth is weakened, and that of error strengthened in the land. And they could not doubt that if they connected their Schools with the National system,

and thereby entered into a compact to dispossess the Bible of the place which it had hitherto occupied in them, they would be, in the eyes of the young and of the old of both communions, practically admitting the false principles of the Church of Rome, and submitting to its tyranny, and abandoning the great principle of their own Church, concerning the sufficiency and supremacy of God's Holy Word.

It would seem that the Board, to which the management of National Education is committed, has not been insensible to the force of this grand and primary objection. It changed the offensive, but true ground, on which the exclusion of the Scriptures from its Schools was originally placed, for another which was much more specious and popular ; and parental authority was brought in to occupy the post at first assigned to the authority of the Church of Rome. Those who were acquainted with the state of the country, knew that there was no real objection on the part of Roman Catholic parents, speaking generally, to read the Bible themselves, or have it read by their children, but the contrary. And, in fact, when Ecclesiastical authority was first exerted to put down Scriptural Education in this country, it had to encounter very stubborn resistance from parental authority—a resistance which undoubtedly would have been successful, if it had been aided, as it ought to have been, by the State. But a renewal of this struggle was not to be looked for. For however true it be, that Roman Catholics, in general, would prefer that their children were taught the Bible, this desire is seldom so enlightened or so strong as of itself to arouse them to a contest with the authorities of their Church. Under former systems they resisted the despotic power which forbade their children to read the Bible, chiefly because their submission to it would have involved the loss of an improved method of secular education. But when in consequence of the establishment of the National System, no such loss would ensue, it was not to be expected that any considerable number would persist in opposing the mandates of their Clergy, or that the latter would find any difficulty in constraining the parents, from whom they were able to withhold the Bible, to forbid the use of it to their children. This being the case, it must be felt that, under all the modifications which have taken place in the rules, the matter remained in substance and fact unaltered ; and that the parental authority, which is put forward so prominently, is really the authority of the Church of Rome, exercised on and through the parents of the children.

It is still further to be considered, that parental authority, like civil and ecclesiastical, and all other lawful authority, derives all its force from the authority of God ; and therefore can possess none, when it is exerted in opposition to the Divine authority on which it rests. And, although a child, who, from tender years or false training, is unable to

see clearly the opposition which may exist between his parent's will and the will of God, or to apprehend its effect in releasing him from the duty of submission, is not to be instructed or encouraged to resist the authority of his parent, even when it is unlawfully exerted,—yet that parent has no right to require others, who clearly perceive this opposition and understand its effects, to be his instruments in enforcing an unlawful exercise of his authority over his child; and others have no warrant to become his instruments in such a case. The distinction is obvious. Our clergy would and ought to abstain from any direct efforts to excite resistance, or even to encourage it on the part of a child, until they had good grounds for regarding that resistance as intelligent and conscientious. But they could not recognize such an exertion of parental authority, as if it were lawful, and lend their assistance in enforcing it. So that, even if it were voluntarily exerted in forbidding the Bible to be read, our Clergy could not consent to bind themselves to aid in giving effect to such an unlawful command. But when they regard the parent as himself in bondage to the usurped authority of the Church of Rome, and as not exercising his own free will, but obeying as a passive agent, in binding the same yoke upon his children, the duty of refusing to co-operate with him is still clearer. The Clergy may be able to do but little towards delivering their Roman Catholic countrymen from such bondage, but they can at least keep themselves free from the guilt of becoming instruments in rivetting its chains upon them:—and this, accordingly, they resolved to do. In which resolution,—as in all that they have done in this matter,—they had the full concurrence and support of the Lay Members of the Church.

The exclusive appropriation of the Parliamentary Grants for Education, having left the Church destitute of its accustomed aids for the instruction of the children of the poor, the Clergy and Laity, to supply the want which had been thus created, united in forming the CHURCH EDUCATION SOCIETY FOR IRELAND. The immediate and chief object of this Society is to afford the means of Religious Education to the poorer children of our own communion. But an earnest desire being felt to extend the benefits of the Schools to other communions also, not only is the freest access given to all, but every thing is done, which can be done consistently with principle, to take away every hindrance to their availing themselves of the advantages which they afford. While the reading of the Bible forms a portion of the business of the Schools, in which all children, when qualified, are expected to take a part, the Formularies of the Church are required to be learned by none except the children of its own members. And although the attendance of Roman Catholic children at the Schools of the Church Education Society fluctuates considerably, as ecclesiastical authority is more or

less actively exerted to restrain it, yet on the whole there appears no room to doubt, that united Education has been effected in a much higher degree in the Schools of this Society, than in those of the National Board.

The very limited resources of the Society, however, being inadequate to the full attainment of its objects, Diocesan and other Petitions were presented to Parliament, praying for such a revision of the question of Education in this country, as might allow the Established Church to share in the funds appropriated to the Education of the Poor. These petitions having been unsuccessful, the operations and the wants of the Church Education Society were in the same way brought before the Legislature, with the view of obtaining a separate grant for the maintenance of its Schools. And afterwards, an application was made to the Government, soliciting that the Irish part of the United Church might be allowed to participate with the English, in the grant of money from which the latter annually draws support for a system of Education in conformity with its own principles. These appeals have been hitherto unsuccessful; but we cannot bring ourselves to think it possible, that the striking inequality of the measure which has been dealt towards the Established Church of this country in the important concern of Education, and the great hardship of the position in which it has been thereby placed, can fail ultimately to attract towards it such fair consideration, as may procure for it due sympathy and redress. We, on the contrary, entertain a confident hope that, whatever be the hindrances which have hitherto obstructed that fair consideration, they are but temporary, and that they will pass away, leaving the Government free to afford the assistance, which is so greatly needed by the Church Education Society, and to which its objects and its circumstances give it so strong a claim.

To all, then, who are interested in the maintenance and extension of the Schools of the Church Education Society, we recommend steady perseverance, and the employment of all suitable efforts to bring its case calmly and effectively before the public. And we cannot believe that our Brethren in the Faith in England will look on with apathy, while the Church in this country, faithful to its high office as “a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ,” is struggling, unaided, to discharge its most pressing duties, first to the children more immediately committed to its care, and then to all whom God has placed within the sphere of its influence. But this will be as God pleases, and when He pleases. Let it be the aim of those who are engaged in this sacred cause, by His help to do His will, leaving the issue of their labours—the time and measure of their success—altogether to His wisdom.

“And let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.”

JOHN G. ARMAGH.
 CHARLES KILDARE.
 ROBERT B. CLOHER.
 J. KILMORE, &C.
 RD. DOWN & CONNOR, AND DROMORE.
 S. CORK & CLOYNE.
 LUDLOW KILLALOE & CLONFERT.
 J. T. OSSORY & FERNS.
 ROBERT CASHEL, &C.

January 1845.

No. II.

THE SURPLICE AND THE OFFERTORY QUESTIONS.

IMPORTANT CHARGE OF THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER—DELIVERED TO
 THE CANDIDATES FOR ORDINATION AT THEIR FINAL EXAMINATION,
 DECEMBER 21, 1844.

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIENDS,

It has been usual for the bishop, on occasions like the present, to address such pastoral advice to the candidates for orders as he may think best calculated to prepare their minds for the solemn engagements which they are about or soon to undertake; and, in performing this important function of his episcopal office, to dwell upon the general duties of the clergy, the doctrines which they are bound to teach, and the habits of life which they should endeavour to form. These are important matters, and, in common times, such as cannot be too frequently pressed upon your attention; but, in times like the present, it appears to me that it is incumbent on the bishop to be somewhat more particular in his instructions to those who are about to embark in troubled waters.

and who will need all the assistance which an experienced pilot can afford them. I have on former occasions, not only in my primary charge addressed to the whole diocese, but afterwards when opportunities like the present have occurred of giving advice to my younger brethren in the ministry, deprecated that spirit of innovation which, on the plea of a more punctual observance of the rubric, and a respect for the practices of the Primitive Church, was, I felt convinced, calculated to alienate the affections of the laity from the clergy, and thus to give a fatal blow to our beloved Church, which must depend very much, not only for its usefulness but its security, on retaining its hold upon the affections of the people. However necessary it may be to recommend caution and discretion in these matters to the clergy at large, it is more especially so to those who are just entering on the discharge of their sacred calling. It too often happens, that those who have once taken a wrong direction, however much they may afterwards be sensible of the evil consequences resulting from their indiscretion, are deterred by a false shame, and perhaps by a not unnatural indisposition to give way before the prejudices of their people, from retracing their steps, and restoring the intercourse between themselves and their parishioners to that happy state of peace and tranquillity which may be considered as the general character of our church before a mistaken regard for obsolete forms introduced discord and dissension among us. Those of you who are on the morrow to receive the first orders of the Church, cannot have thus committed yourselves : and it may be reasonably hoped, that they who have for a short time been ministering as deacons have been too sensible of their subordinate rank in the Church to have ventured to take a decided line on these controverted points, till a longer experience had enabled them to weigh certain evils against most problematical advantages. My advice to you then is, that in entering upon your several cures you retain the privilege which you at present possess, of not being committed to a party, and be cautious how you take a course which I am confident you will be anxious to retrace, when you have found that you have lost thereby the affections of your people, but in which a false pride and the feelings naturally belonging to party may induce you notwithstanding to persevere. In reviewing the history of our church since the Reformation, it is hardly possible to note a time when its prosperity and usefulness were more remarkable than the period immediately preceding the publication of the Oxford Tracts. An increased degree of zeal, a more entire devotion to their sacred functions, was manifest among the clergy ; and not only did the most complete concord exist between them and the laity, but the latter attested their deep veneration for the church of their forefathers, by contributing most liberally to the erection of churches and the support of church and

missionary societies. The service of the Church was then performed in strict accordance with the general directions of the rubric; and though, on some trifling points, slight variations had been introduced, it was generally understood, that although these variations could not be legally sanctioned without the authority of convocation, they were made in deference to public opinion, and under the authority derived from the tacit acquiescence of the bishop. Schools were multiplied, the great truths of the everlasting gospel were more distinctly and more generally preached, and such was the impression gradually made on those who had separated from us, by such increased zeal and activity on the part of our clergy, that in several dioceses not only dissenting ministers, but whole congregations of dissenters, joined our communion.

My brethren, I will not contrast this state of things with that which prevails at the present moment in other dioceses, and, I fear, in a small portion even of this diocese: but as nothing human is perfect, and as in all the transactions of life it must be our lot to decide upon a comparative balance of advantages and disadvantages, I will request you to make the comparison, and then ask yourselves whether the advantages, whatever they may be, which can be derived from a minute regard to ritual observances and the usages of antiquity, may not be purchased at too dear a rate, if purchased at such a price. The limits within which I must necessarily confine myself on an occasion like the present will not admit of my going into the various points which have of late been made the matter of so much unpleasant discussion; but it may be useful to you that I should dwell upon one or two with regard to which you may entertain doubts, and on which you will be compelled to make up your minds when you take possession of your respective curacies. And, first, with respect to the habit which you ought to wear when instructing your people from the pulpit. This is a question which I consider so utterly unimportant that I have never hitherto thought it worth while to express my opinion on the subject. I have myself been present during the celebration of divine service when the officiating clergyman has thought fit to preach in a surplice, without thinking it necessary to notice such a deviation from the general custom; and though I certainly should have been better pleased if no such innovation had been attempted, still I considered the whole matter as much too insignificant to require my interference. What, however, is in itself insignificant, acquires importance when it is considered as the badge of a party, and when, on this account, it becomes a stumbling-block and an offence to others. On this ground I should be disposed to advise you to continue the practice which has so long prevailed of preaching in your academical habit, even though by so doing you deviate from the precise directions of the rubric. For the sake of those

however, whose consciences are tender on this point, I have carefully considered the question, and I have satisfied myself, and I hope that I may satisfy you, that it never has been the custom since the reformation for the clergy to preach in their surplices. The whole argument upon this point turns upon the sermon being a portion of the communion service. If, therefore, we can show that the sermon is not a part of that service, there will remain no longer the slightest ground for an innovation which, though in itself indifferent, will be sure to shock the prejudices and excite the suspicion of your congregation. The 58th canon, which relates to this matter, is thus headed, ‘Ministers reading divine service and administering the sacraments to wear surplices;’ and it directs that every minister saying the public prayers or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church ‘shall wear a decent and comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the parish.’ Now, can it be said that when we are preaching a sermon we are either saying public prayers or administering a sacrament? That we are not doing the former is self-evident, and I will proceed to show that the sermon, though introduced in the course of the communion service, forms no part of the proper sacramental service of the Lord’s Supper. It is worthy of remark that in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. so little were the ten commandments or the sermon considered a part of the sacramental service, that after this portion of the service had been concluded, the following rubric occurred:—‘Then so many as shall be partakers of the holy communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire (the men on the one side and the women on the other side). All other (that mind not to receive the holy communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and clerk.’ It is clear therefore that at that time, so far from the sermon forming part of the sacramental service, a complete interruption occurred after the sermon, during which those who did not mind to receive the holy communion are directed to retire, and then the proper sacramental service commences. This rubric is not indeed repeated in the second Prayer-book of Edward VI., or in the Prayer-book which we now use; but it is clear that the like interruption of the service was contemplated, for immediately after the Nicene Creed the curate is directed to declare unto the people what holydays or fasting days are to be observed in the week following; and all briefs, citations, and excommunications, are directed to be read; and can these be said to form part of the sacramental service? ‘Then,’ the rubric proceeds, ‘shall follow the sermon,’ so that you perceive the preaching a sermon is classed with reading briefs, citations, and excommunications, which certainly, in the words of the 58th canon, can form no part either of divine service, or of administering the sacrament, during which ministers are

directed to wear a surplice. The inference which I have attempted to draw from the rubric is further confirmed by the practice adopted at our two universities. It is well known that in no place is a regard for strict ritual observance more observed than in our universities; and yet so little is the sermon considered a part of the sacramental service, that it is preached in a different place and at a different time from the college chapels, where the sacraments are administered: and here I cannot but observe that if the surplice had ever been worn, as the proper habit of a preacher, it would have been adopted in our university pulpits; but here we know that at the present time the gown is always worn, and I believe I may venture to say, that no record exists of the surplice having ever been used on such occasions, and the gown substituted for it: but such a change could not have been effected in a place where old customs are so strictly adhered to as in our universities without authority; and if effected by authority, some record of it would unquestionably exist at the present day. Again, so far was the sermon from being considered as included in the reading of public prayers or ministering the sacraments, that we know it was frequently preached by some of our most eminent reformers at St. Paul's-cross, and it can hardly be supposed that the surplice was worn on such occasions. The true state of the case I take to be, that you are directed to use the surplice only when reading divine service or administering the sacraments; you then appear in your proper character of priest or deacon, appointed to minister in holy things; but when you preach, you assume the character of a teacher, and as such your proper habit (if, indeed, proper or improper be fit words for a matter so utterly insignificant) is your academical gown, with a hood, denoting your degree at the university. I have thus attempted to prove that it is a mistaken notion to suppose that the surplice is the proper dress for you to wear in the pulpit. If I have not convinced you, I think you must all admit that, under the circumstances which I have stated to you, it is at best a doubtful question, and in any doubtful question I feel sure that you would obey the apostle's direction, which ought to have much more authority with you than anything I can say, and "follow after the things which make for peace."

Another change which has, of late years, been attempted in our church service, is the reading of the prayer for the church militant, which if originally intended to form part of the church service, had been almost universally discontinued in our parochial churches, and even in many of our cathedrals. Upon this point the rubrics are certainly inconsistent. In that which immediately precedes that prayer the following words occur:—"And when there is a communion the priest shall place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient, after which is done the priest shall say, "Let us pray for the

whole state of Christ's church militant here on earth.'” Did this rubric stand alone, there could be no doubt that the prayer for the church militant was to be read only when the sacrament was about to be administered ; but another rubric occurs, inconsistent with the above, at the conclusion of the communion-service, where we read that ‘ upon Sundays and holydays, if there be no communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the communion until the end of the general prayer for the whole state of Christ's church militant here on earth.’ It is difficult to account for these two contrary rubrics, which appear to have been inserted at the same time, that is, at the second revision of the Prayer-book in the reign of Edward VI. ; but as they do exist, it is not extraordinary that the clergy should have felt themselves at liberty to observe which they pleased, and partly on account of the length of the service, so distressing to those who are in advanced years, partly on account of the awkwardness of being obliged again to exchange the gown for the surplice, this prayer became gradually discontinued. And here I cannot but observe that the disuse of this prayer is of itself a proof that the surplice was not usually worn in the pulpit. Had it been so there would have been no difficulty in the minister returning from the pulpit to the communion-table, and reading the prayer as directed by the second rubric to which I have referred. It was because he wore a gown, and not a surplice, that this practice was found inconvenient, and therefore was discontinued. The only other point to which I think it necessary to call your especial attention on the present occasion is the use of the offertory, and the collecting of alms from the congregation on every Lord's-day. There is no doubt that originally this collection was intended as a substitute for the alms which used to be given at the doors of convents, and as it is still continued in Scotland and the Isle of Man, where no poor-rates exist, we may reasonably conclude that it could never have been discontinued in this country, if the poor had not been otherwise provided for by a rate levied on all the parishioners. The custom then became almost universal, that it should only be used at the administration of the Lord's Supper. Attempts, however, have of late years been made by some of the clergy to renew the practice of reading the offertory and making collections every Sunday for the purpose of procuring contributions towards the support of our church societies ; and where this can be done without offence to the congregation, it is impossible to object to a practice which, while it encourages the charitable feelings of the congregation, might, if extensively adopted, materially aid those most valuable institutions. The consent, however, of the congregation is a material element in the propriety of adopting such a practice, for we have no right to force upon a congregation, without their consent, what

is not strictly legal, and I have always been intimately convinced, that no collection can be legally made in a church during the reading of the offertory except for the benefit of the poor residing in the parish where the church is situated, or under the authority of a Queen's letter. The phrase of the 'poor man's box,' which occurs in the rubric, can have reference only to that box which used to be placed in all our churches to receive the alms of the charitable for the benefit of the poor of that particular parish. A very curious decision of Sir Lyttleton Powys, in the reign of George I. has been lately published, which sets this matter at rest; for it is therein distinctly stated as the law at that time (and it does not appear that any adverse decision has been since made to reverse it), that no collections can be legally made in churches during the reading of the offertory, except for the poor of the parish, but by the leave and permission of the crown. If, therefore, you think fit to restore the use of the offertory in any of the churches where you may be appointed to serve, you will bear in mind that all the money so collected can only be legally applied to the relief of the poor of the parish. There can be no objection to collections being made for other purposes, in cases where the congregation themselves are consenting parties to them; but, wherever such collections are resisted it will not be safe for you to persist, while the law upon this subject remains at least so doubtful. I have thus stated my opinion upon some of those points which have been the most fruitful cause of dissension between the clergy and the laity, and in conclusion, I will only refer you to one of the questions which you will be called upon to answer to-morrow. You will be asked, 'Will you maintain and set forward as much as lieth in you, quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people, and especially among those that are or shall be committed to your charge?'

To this question you will be required solemnly to reply, 'I will do so, the Lord being my helper.' Be assured that your usefulness in your parishes will very much depend upon your fulfilling the pledge which you will thus give; and if you will go forth to your respective cures anxious to fulfil your sacred duties in the spirit of peace—not pertinacious about trifles, even if the law be on your side, and still less so if this be doubtful—anxious only to win souls to Christ, and with this view endeavouring to conciliate the affections of your people, while you point out to them the way of everlasting life, the Lord will 'be your helper.' He will bless your ministerial labours with success; and may you hereafter be enabled to appear before his judgment-seat, and say with well-grounded confidence, 'Of those whom Thou hast given me have I lost none.'

No. III.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE KERRY EVENING POST.

DEAR SIR,

THE converts from the Church of Rome in this district feel much indebted for your generous defence of themselves and the church of their adoption.

For the last four or five months we have been maligned, misrepresented, and abused in an unchristian manner, from the altars, and in the pages of the *Kerry Examiner*. The Roman Catholic people of this district are, indeed, naturally very much disposed to peace and good will towards us, who are "their own flesh and blood," or we could never have withstood the consequences of such terrible teaching.

I am thankful to say that all this time we have preached from our pulpits peace and good will towards all—even our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers. Our people know this, and, thank God, are influenced by it. We have patiently and quietly listened to all that has been falsely said of us and uncharitably done against us. We are at last driven to act on the defensive. We have appealed to the government of our country for protection. All we ask is liberty of conscience—the birthright of every subject of the British empire. Would to God that we had it here. But we can never expect it while Roman Catholic priests are allowed with impunity to speak of us, and excite people against us, as they do, from their altars each Sunday. Our only crime is, that we have left their communion and conformed to the Established Church : this is very evident to the whole country ; and if the very worst character were to join us for a time, and to go back again to the Roman communion, he may be sure of caresses, loud praises, and temporal aid, that is never thought of for other poor Roman Catholic people. However, our patience and forbearance may be misunderstood. The constant dropping of water wears the stone, and the greatest lies pass for truth with many when constantly repeated. To prevent any such consequence from the weekly repetition of false statements and abuse of us for the last few months, I beg leave to address the public through your pages. I shall state the truth, and nothing but the truth. I leave it to others to write under assumed names which betray their want of moral courage, as well as their consciousness of a bad cause. What I write you need not be ashamed to publish : I shall state facts

well known through this district, and capable of proof by most respectable and impartial testimony.

In the first place, then, I beg leave, through your pages, to inform the public, that we are insulted, threatened, and often assaulted when passing through the country on our lawful business, and for no other reason in the world than that we are converts from the Church of Rome.

Secondly—Be it known that converts cannot purchase the necessities of life in this district, and that the Roman Catholics in general refuse to have any dealings with them, for no other reason in the world than that they are converts from the Church of Rome.

And thirdly—That the converts, and any of the Protestant gentry who have the moral courage to show any sympathy for them, are held up to public scorn in the Roman Catholic chapels of this districts, as well as in the pages of the *Kerry Examiner*.

I shall now, with your leave, give the public a few out of many facts, in proof of each of these three assertions.

A few weeks since it pleased God to take to himself the soul of one of our brethren ; he sealed the sincerity of his conversion at the trying hour of death, in presence of Romanists and converts ; he departed this life stedfast in the faith of Christ ; he was buried on Sunday ; and one would suppose that the solemn funeral procession, on the Lord's Day in particular, would be allowed to pass undisturbed through a professedly Christian country. One might expect some feeling from all as we passed, for the poor widow and orphans : but, no—I am sorry and ashamed to be obliged to say it of my countrymen, that they have been, latterly in particular, brought into such an unchristian and unnatural state of mind, that they could not let that funeral pass without shouting and insult of every kind. More than once several evil-disposed persons, on their way from the Romish chapel, made attempts to excite a row, but, thank God, in vain ; and on our return home, for a mile of the road, we were not only shouted after, but pelted with clods and stones. But how can it be otherwise—"as the priest is, such are the people." A new *nickname* for "the soupers" is proclaimed almost every Sunday from the altars, and wherever a convert goes through the country, he is saluted with those opprobrious epithets. What a spirit is in Romanism ! when its poor deluded votaries, while actually on their knees around the chapel during the celebration of mass, could not let the converts pass on their way to church, without shouting after them and calling them opprobrious names. No convert can pass the high roads of this district without being grossly insulted and grievously provoked ; indeed he may be thankful if that be all. How often is the poor convert, on his way to and from the town of Dingle, not only insulted and pro-

voked, but shouldered, pelted, and beaten ; a rush is often made by a party of people, as if in great haste, but with a view to run down the poor convert, if he be not expert enough to avoid it.

I have seen the skeleton of a horse dragged out of the dike, with bad intent, before myself as I rode on a most dangerous mountain road—a horse well known to be skittish. A few weeks since a poor man was pelted on the road from Donquin to this—he ran from his persecutors into a forge for shelter—the smith pulled the red-hot iron out of the fire, and thrust it towards his face, desiring “the devil to be gone.”

Mr. John Cavanagh of this place, an educated and respectable convert, was attacked on the strand of Ventry by men with their faces blackened, only a few days after he had taken the liberty of asking the Roman Catholic priest why he abused him from the altar of his chapel. In Dingle the other evening the windows of Mr. Gayer’s school-house were smashed.

A threatening notice was served on Lord Ventry, and the writer swore by the eternal God to shoot him if he did’nt discountenance converts and send away Mr. Gayer—the greatest benefactor and the best friend to the poor Roman Catholics of Dingle, as well as to the converts of the district. Every body knows that kind-hearted nobleman and his amiable lady have been held up to public scorn in the Romish chapels, and for no other reason (as is distinctly affirmed) than that he pities the poor converts and will not join in exterminating them.

In cases where we knew the parties, we have occasionally availed ourselves of the ordinary course of law for our protection—many have been bound to keep the peace, and others convicted before magistrates and the assistant-barrister of assaults, &c. : often too, both before and after conviction, we have forgiven many with a Christian spirit—while the converts are not even charged before the tribunals of their country with any such crimes—still it is to be feared that no ordinary course of law can grapple with such a state of things, and magistrates require more than ordinary moral courage to take an active part in putting an effectual stop to such outrages upon civil and religious liberty ; if they do, they too come in for their share of the new ‘gospel of the day!!!’ In a word then, to conclude this part of the subject, I must say that the converts of this district, humanly speaking, could never stand their ground but for the clannish feeling of the country, and some fear of the law. Above all, we know that the Lord reigneth ; this is our greatest comfort and best protection. May he cause all to work together for our good.

Let me now give a few facts in illustration of the second head of my subject.

’Tis too well known, sir, in Dingle and throughout the country, that

the Roman Catholics in general refuse to have any dealings or keep faith with the converts. They refuse to sell them potatoes, milk, fish, and other necessities of life; and we should have been obliged long since to import provisions for our flocks, but for what they are still enabled to sell to each other, together with what potatoes were grown on the Dingle colony farm. I have myself looked on in Dingle while a kind-hearted Roman Catholic bought potatoes, as if for himself, and gave them afterwards to some converts. Yesterday two Roman Catholic men went from this to Donquin to repair a boat belonging to the converts there, and they were refused bed or board in the two lodging-houses of the parish, because they went to repair the converts' boat.

On Sunday last, I witnessed an instance of the cruelty and inhumanity of such a system. I left this as usual early in the morning for divine service at Donquin, which I reached with difficulty—the ground was covered with snow—it blew hard with pelting sleet—in the middle of all the storm and piercing cold, I met a young man, one of my little flock, on his way from Donquin to my house, for some drink for his aged mother who had been ill all night;—not one of the neighbours would dare give or sell a drop of milk, for love or money, and all this through fear of the priest. I do bear the people in general testimony that they are driven to it against the natural bent of their own Irish hearts. One of my people, the other day, asked a Roman Catholic for loan of a tub in which to salt a pig he had killed. The Roman Catholic farmer, poor fellow, had to struggle between the fear of the priest and love for his neighbour; at last, he said, I cannot give it to you, but if you send some one after nightfall, it may be found in the corner of the kitchen-garden.

We lived in peace and good will with the Roman Catholics of the country in general, till these new batteries were opened upon us, and certainly our enemies have, according to their bishop's order, '*kept up the fire*' incessantly for the last four months. This is a desperate effort to put down the Reformation by starving and frightening back the poor converts, and driving them out of the country; this object is openly avowed. Many and great are the trials, sufferings, and losses of the converts, as may well be imagined under such circumstances. The Roman Catholics are instructed to sue without mercy such converts as may owe them any thing; many who bought pigs, potatoes, &c., on time, according to the custom of the country, have been processed before the expiration of the time; if a poor convert's pig be one of many which commits trespass he is sued for all; if his stock be put in pound, the pound-keeper refuses to give him his stock on his word or security, as to others. The Roman Catholic farmers are forbidden to give a convert labourer potatoe-ground.

The converts cannot venture in spring or harvest to go to the east of the county, to Cork or Limerick, for work; no man, not even a Romanists, dare go on such journeys without Repeal card and temperance medals *as a passport*.

Several converts are thus deprived of the ordinary means of earning money wherewith to pay for their potatoe-ground, house, &c.; a convert can hardly buy or sell anything. The other day a poor woman who ventured to ask the price of some fish, got a slap of the fish on the face in reply, and was rough handled by the woman who was selling it. Last Saturday week a convert had his pig sold and a penny earnest on his hand. Some one came up and said he was a '*souper*;' immediately the purchaser lets go the pig, she was kicked about the market; the man himself was shouldered, thumped, and pelted with mud; the poor fellow was so much concerned to keep an eye on his pig that he never minded who assaulted himself, and he escaped with difficulty. This is a lamentable state of things—'tis dreadful. I know that the Roman Catholic priests have reason to be annoyed by the loss of much of their influence, as well as many ways of making money. Time was in this county when one-tenth of their present efforts would have banished most effectually all persons obnoxious to them; but light has been spreading for the last few years throughout the district, and has not been without some effect on the minds of the people in general. We seldom or ever now hear of masses in fishing-boats, dairies, and such like—even masses for the dead are less sought after. This is their only ground of complaint.

But I must hasten to the third part of the subject; and this, too, is well known throughout the district. Who is among us ignorant of the fact that the converts and such of the Protestant gentry as show them any sympathy are held up to public scorn every Sunday from the altars of the Roman Catholic chapels? The places said to be consecrated to the worship of the God of "peace and good will to men," of Him whose most glorious attributes, whose very name is love—the Saviour of the world, who is said to be present in his human as well as his divine nature, "as well as he is in heaven;" that Saviour whose teaching is "love your enemies," &c.—these very places resound with the most uncharitable, the vilest, abuse of us converts, and of all the Protestant gentry who venture to show us any countenance in the country. Many leave the chapels in disgust, others hang down their heads in shame; sometimes the people tremble; again they laugh; and such is the scene enacted during what is called the awfully solemn sacrifice of the body and blood, soul and divinity, of the Lord Jesus Christ for the sins of the living and the dead. Alas! for religion, alas! for the people who put up with such exhibitions. Can the priest

himself possibly believe that he has brought the Saviour from the throne above, held him in his hand, laid him on the altar, and then turn about to enact such a scene before a crowded audience? A new practice in the Dingle chapel of late—the sermon, or the scene before mentioned, takes place in the middle of the mass. This is done of course with the view that none should lose the benefit of it, as some were in the habit under the old rule, of leaving chapel at the close of mass and before the sermon. Many of the respectable Roman Catholics of Dingle—to their credit be it told—have in many ways expressed their disapprobation of such conduct; and latterly, as a sort of justification of it, people were told what incensed the priests so much against Lord Ventry was, that he exhibited to his children a book in which the Roman Catholic priests and their religion were caricatured. Now, if this were true one might make some allowance for men's feelings; but a more infamous falsehood was never invented; 'tis of a piece with the rest, and, as I said, seized upon as a provoking cause for the dishonourable mention made of his lordship's name.

'Tis very true that a vile little book was circulated in Dingle about *four years ago*, reflecting on all religion, on converts as well as on certain strange practices of the Romish priests—'twas in reality an infidel production, and more read by the Roman Catholics than by Protestants—it was written, I understand, by a stranger who visited this part of the country a few years ago. Lord Ventry was given a copy, which he first locked up from sight of all, and then put into the fire. I have often heard his lordship speak of it with severe disapprobation. It would be well for Roman Catholics that they had Lord Ventry's reasons and motives for disapproving the like; a mind enlightened by the word of God, and valuing pure and undefiled religion above all this world can bestow, can have no sympathy with the infidel's mocking of all things sacred—he cannot “sit in the seat of the scorner.”

In like manner, to justify attacks on myself, I am represented as having told at public meetings stories which never proceeded from my lips. I had, indeed, no necessity to invent stories; facts are many and glaring before our eyes. I have never spoken half of them, through shame and pity for my poor country, which with all her faults I love the best. I have never even said as much as I have now written—but 'tis the truth, and is it a sin for me merely *to say* that these things are done, and no sin for them *to do them*!

Who has not heard of the abuse heaped on Lieutenant Clifford, inspecting commander of coast-guards, an officer beloved by his men, Protestants and Roman Catholics—a gentleman respected and esteemed as most benevolent and inoffensive? And, will it be believed! triumphs were sung on the death of the late, ever-to-be lamented, D. P.

Thompson, Esq. He was, indeed, a public and a private loss. I know well how he detested dishonesty and hypocrisy in all men, whether Protestants or Romanists. He was a true friend to every honest man under his control, and many a family he raised to independence in this county. He was the widow's friend too. The Lord comfort his widow. Every one knows how the Ventry estates improved under his agency. He well knew the state of things in this district, and had the manliness to provide turf and potatoes for the poor persecuted converts, from the tenants under his charge. This was one of his last acts before leaving for Dublin: hence the triumphs at his death.

Alas! for religion. Alas! for humanity itself—how devoid of both must be the hearts of these men.

My sister was for six years enjoying liberty of conscience as a Roman Catholic in my house; she was their idol and boast all that time—an angel in their eyes. When, after a long and painful struggle of conscience—best known to her late confessor—she comes to church, nick-names and abuse of all sorts are heaped upon her too by an unmanly priest. Even the editor of the *Kerry Examiner* is ashamed to print in his generally filthy pages the Dens'-taught expressions of this reverend gentleman!

I need not here more than allude to their abuse of my friend and brother, Mr. Gayer. It will appear before the public, I expect, at the coming assizes. The effect is already manifest to this country—in the smashing of his windows—the threatening notice to Lord Ventry, not allowing his servants to buy potatoes, turf, &c., in the markets.

But I have said enough on this topic. One word I would add. Such is the excitement in Dingle particularly, that it behoves the authorities to be on the alert. We have lived for years *as converts* in peace with our neighbours, and why not now? They are excited against us. The Lord only knows what may come out of it. May he preserve us.

But I must bring this letter to a close. I have given few out of many—alas! too many facts, in illustration of the state of things through this district. This is but small part of what can be proved before any tribunal by old Protestants, converts, and Roman Catholics; but I have now stated enough to assure our Christian friends and the public that the Romish priests refuse us liberty of conscience in this district. However much it be talked of elsewhere, they seem to stop at nothing to banish us or bring us back; but greater is he that is for us than all that are against us. Well may we sing the 124th psalm. We are still over 150 families, amounting to more than 800 souls, thank God, besides all who have departed this life in the faith, and some who have emigrated. If there be hypocrites and deceivers amongst us, none will rejoice more than we ourselves that this day

shall declare them—this fire will try the work of what sort it is. The wood, hay, stubble will be burned up—the gold, silver, and precious stones will stand and be more purified and established. We have laid the good foundation—the rock of ages, Christ Jesus. We build no other—our material is mixed, like even that of the apostles. We dare not attempt to patch up the crumbling fabric of Rome. We would rather pull it down, and build up its material on our good foundation—'tis the only sure and safe remedy.

We preach peace and good will to our people, and pray for our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, that God may forgive them and turn their hearts to the faith and fold of Christ—the Church of Saint Patrick and Saint Columbkil, to the ancient Irish, Rome-denying Church—which alone deserves to be called Irish and national, as she alone has given the divine word of God and all her offices in the language of our beloved country.

What sacrilege for a man professing to be a minister of Christ, to burn a portion of this divine word the other day in this neighbourhood. The Lord open their eyes and convert them.

May God grant us grace to be stedfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord.

I am, yours faithfully,

THOMAS MORIATY.

Ventry Parsonage, Dingle, Jan. 25, 1845.

P.S.—MONDAY, JAN. 27.—Mr. Gayer received a letter this morning, threatening that his and other lives would be sacrificed if he didn't leave the country. May the Lord, in whom we trust, preserve us.

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